1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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QUEEN CHARLOTTE OF TONGA

[introductory p. i]

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> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . . [888]
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have [582]
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, [595]
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond [622]
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of [684]
> Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman [847]
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at [855]
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo [888]
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less [291]
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more gen- [276]
erally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." [562]

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 591
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her [784]
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- [582]
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman [607]
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

rank the head of the house, the seat *matuloki*, was given to him, the host, 592
if a chief, taking his proper place to the right of the ranking guest, if a 554
matapule, at *d*. If the host were a commoner and a chief should enter, the 574
host sat outside the house. If a man should sit in a place to which his rank 565
did not entitle him, the ranking man present, would order him to his proper 554
place. If a man should occupy a place inferior to his rank, he was invited 576
by the person seated at *matuloki* to occupy his proper place. As every man
knew his correct place without being told, to sit in the wrong place was not
only an error, but a presumption.

[342]

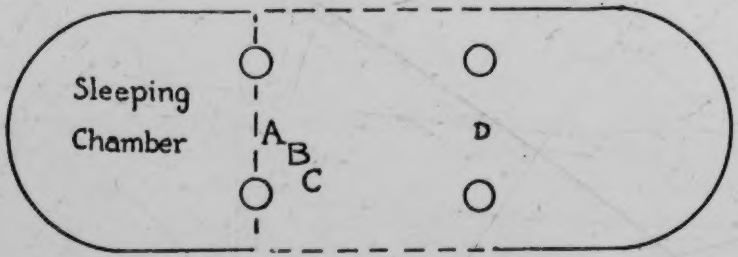

FIGURE 2.—Sketch showing manner of seating within the house: *a*, place of highest honor; *b*, place next in rank; *c*, place for chief third in rank; *d*, place for seating matapule.

On ordinary occasions, in the representative household, food was not 264
eaten at any one place or by the household as a group. Each person ate where
he chose, but always outside the dwelling house, often in the kitchen house.
On special occasions, as when guests were present, leaves or mats were spread 264
at a definite place and a seating arrangement was observed as shown in 574
figure 3. 554

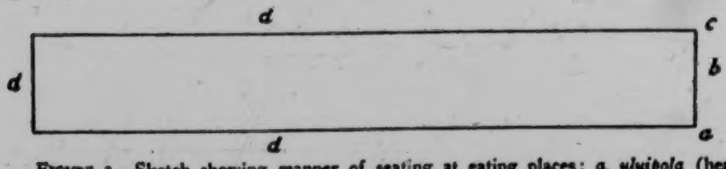

FIGURE 3.—Sketch showing manner of seating at eating places: *a*, *uluipola* (head in coconut thatch), reserved for the ranking person present; *b*, *c*, *d*, places of decreasing rank, called *tafaaki pola* (coconut leaf thatch at the side).

The structural differences in the houses of chiefs and commoners are 342
described by McKern (43). 114

The garment worn by men, women, and children of all social stations 291
was the *vala*, a rectangular piece of tapa wrapped around the loins and hang- 565
ing from the waist to the ankles or above them. According to one informant

only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of 291
losi leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. 565
The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn
out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward [292]
show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*.
young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*,
ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like [622]
garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to
be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or
above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high [304]
to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's 301
comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened 565
together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood [531]
(some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited 565
to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places [515]
only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like [524]
game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, [689]
perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him 565
on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or 574
passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume [516]
a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he [576]
would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. 262
If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. 565
Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of 223
words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, suc- 689
cessful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring. [526] [196]

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a com- [831]
moner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They
are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless 565
the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the 829
attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. [553]
It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen.
X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was [729]

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which 622
specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates. 554

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan 591
term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as 592
taupoou, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore 535
finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed 291
and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might 276 574
sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling 252
was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as 356
in Samoa. 526

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which 831
in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as 551
a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or 551
large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of 825
such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following 622
processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with 554
chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with 302
a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice 565
a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female at- 515
tendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to 261
eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of 826
her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded 622
by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats 554
and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her 285
upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness 516
or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. 622
After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were 513
tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was 516
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rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the 622
work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects 342
to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, 466
may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may [465]
build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely [171]
he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so fortunate 342
as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect 565
their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty 335
of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular 764
box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits 333
the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same 349
time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception. [565]

FISHING

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a 226
seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of 621
the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) 464
to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola,* assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women,
and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The [643]
pulepola, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which [651]
were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was
made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand
in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well [302]
oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the [291]
neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes. [293]

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* 226 621
grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on 423
the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities [438]
did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly
districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom 226
essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighboring 621
tanungapola. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia* 628

Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own 285
use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at wed- [431]
dings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient,
but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no
practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*. 322

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. 755
(See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either 757
male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed 759 [565]
by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the [462]
knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a [622]
cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) [428]
such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor [465]
of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.) [309]

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most 305
of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve 462
as barbers for chiefs. 565

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, 565
together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents 551
so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them 624
may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.) 644
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Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now
serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first
incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of [291]
the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom
I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son
Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

Then Lamatau came and sat in front of the *toua* and said, "Fakafetai emau mau 276
kava" (Thanks for the kava). [Lamatau is related to Vahai.] 574

The matapule ordered, "Hiki ae toua" (Shift the people from behind the kava 576
bowl), and the *toua* accordingly shifted.

An old lady, Lizzy, who was related to Ahomee (perhaps a daughter of a [291]
former Ahomee), was turned out of the *alofi* because she wore a necklace as well as [301]
a shawl. She protested, saying that Ahomee, who is *fae* (literally, mother, but here [689]
mother's brother) of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court, could sit wherever he [602]
liked in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle. Ahomee himself could have sat in the
alofi, but none of his sons or daughters.

I heard of a woman, Pauline Tui Lalotonga of Nomuka Island, taking the seat of her deceased brother, whose name was Fotu. [I am not certain whether this is a title or merely a name.] At a *faikava*, Pauline's bowl would be called out for Fotu, while those of her two sisters would be called by their names.

PRECEDENCE IN THE KAVA CIRCLE

At an ordinary gathering, no attention is paid to position of individuals 276
according to rank, but in the formal kava circle everyone has a definite seat. 574
After the ring is formed, it cannot be broken except by the chief, Ata. At 576
his behest, the chiefs may arise and form the ring again should he consider 554
it too small and the members of it seated too closely. 622
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Ata supervises the kava party of the Tui Kanokupolu. In this role he
is called *pule* (governor). Veehala is the *leokava* (chief guard of the kava), [689]
and his sons act as police who admonish a person sitting wrongly. Vahai's
sons act as ushers. It is Ata's duty, should a chief take the wrong place,
to send one of the sons or grandsons of Vahai or Veehala to inform the
person of his mistake. "Chief, you are in the wrong place. Your seat is
over there." If this is insufficient, Ata himself moves forward a bit, shifting
his weight to his hands and remaining seated, for to stand would be
an offense to the Tui Kanokupolu, and speaks to the chief. Should Ata's
men (the offspring of Vahai and Veehala) who are back of the kava bowl
see a person out of place they tell Ata, walking outside the circle in stooping
posture; they have no right to themselves correct the mistake. A chief or [689]
matapule who does not obey the order to move is liable to be pulled away
from the ring, more or less manhandled, and forbidden to be present at
that occasion. Motuapuaka, or Lauaki, can order one on his side of the
ring to stand up and give his place to another chief.

Should either of the officiating matapules show incompetence, it would [689]
be bad form for Ata to scold him in the presence of the Tui Kanokupolu,
but he must have him to his residence later and there reprimand him.

The order of serving of kava on the occasion of the appointment (*faka-* 276
nofo) of the Tui Kanokupolu in 1918 was as follows (fig. 1, page 96): 574
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there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set 585
up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be required.

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) [515]
and tapa towels (*helo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards to relatives.

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion,
each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, [602]
both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's
own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family [593]
whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as *fae* called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tuo*.

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from [515]
head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality [302]
depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were [291]
wrapped about the waist. [554]

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveva* (mother to walk for pleasure). When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae* stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and
a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, [302]
and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue! tue!" (to shout, to triumph over).

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking 585
slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were 431
equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint [302]
him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together by his people.

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Taufaahau's warriors were having breakfast, as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Taufaahau's men quit eating. Taufaahau called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Taufaahau's men replied from the *mato* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply. 173 669 726

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Taufaahau. Velata was a double-walled [712] and double-ditched fortress.

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Taufaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Taufaahau was not yet king when this happened. Taufaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Taufaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Taufaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

TAUFAAHAU AND ULUKALALA VERSUS THE HEATHENS OF VAVAU

In 1829 Taufaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, 797 introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV (Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, becoming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai. Taufaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large [716] double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. [501] Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was 173 an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and 797 lasted but three days. 798 669 726

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831,] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. We were only two nights there, when Taufaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevalu Mataaho. Then Taufaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Taufaahau went and took the kava of the god Taufaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Taufaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Taufaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Taufaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Taufaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, [291] all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?"

often crossed and the turnings were made with a jump. In the other dance 535
one girl ended by slapping the under side of her legs with each step, making a very effective finale.

The dances performed seated consisted entirely of movements of trunk,
hands, and head, usually accompanied by song. Behind the row of dancers [533]
was a chorus of eight or ten men with a skin-headed drum. The director [534]
and poet was a man. Spectators showed their approval of the movements [576]
of two girls by tying either a sash or a handkerchief around their left arms while the dance was in progress.

Each variation of a sitting dance seems to have a name.

Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, listed six dances, any of which [291]
might be used before war: *meetuupaki; lave; ulafakatonga; lakalaka,* modern form of *meetuupake; otuhaka,* woman's sitting dance; *mauluulu,* women in front, men in back standing at certain stages when moving their hands; *liku*[11] dance, in which only chief women took part, either nude or wearing only garlands and a very short *sisi* girdle of hibiscus or grass about the waist, and carrying small paddles.

No doubt the vocabulary in connection with entertainments was rich, but [192]
unfortunately I have only examples that hint at the probable wealth of terms; thus the word *fakapotu* means "pertaining to the two ends in a row of *lakalaka* or *mauluulu* dancers"; *longonafa* is the name of the special drum used in the old war dance called *meetuupaki; aafakihau* is a night festival (*katoanga*) at which recitatives (*lave*) are chanted, it also applies to singing inside the Tui Tonga's house at night for his entertainment.

The Tongan dictionaries give a number of terms for entertainments con- 517
cerning which I obtained no further information; for example, *ahohiva* (a 192
heathen festival), *citu* (a heathen feast) equated by one informant to *kotoni, ola* (a heathen feast), *ufe* (a heathen play), *poula* (a heathen night dance), *pomee* (a night dance), *fakasinifa* (a heathen song of females only), *fakanukuatea* (a heathen song), *fakatau* (a heathen song), *fakatete* (a heathen feast), *hapai* (a present of food at the feast called *tautau*), *hea* (a heathen dance, a dance of chiefs), *lave* (a heathen game), *sipi* (a heathen dancer), *taumafafonua* (the last of several feasts and ceremonies), *tuacitu* (a Tongan feast).

ETIQUETTE AND HABITS

The following notes cover miscellaneous acts which do not fit under the 576
other headings of this paper, yet which are of interest socially:

> They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. (18, vol. 1, p. 221; 30).
>
> Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Ota-

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[11] Possibly this is a misspelling of *liki.* See page 67.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting 576
it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods
of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among
chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this man- [565]
ner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so [593]
kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed [595]
his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto. [643]

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who [482]
is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds,
"Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Ton- [195]
gan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-
280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called [554]
hu, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the [516]
neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of dis- 264
tinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribu- [576]
tion of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast
are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. 516
The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.) 171

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left 854
arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to
the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. 291
This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often [171]
nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear. 301

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of 201
another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out. 481

Men shave the hair from the legs. 302

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The 514
Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans. [171]

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause 302
(*paa*), also wear the hair quite short. [884]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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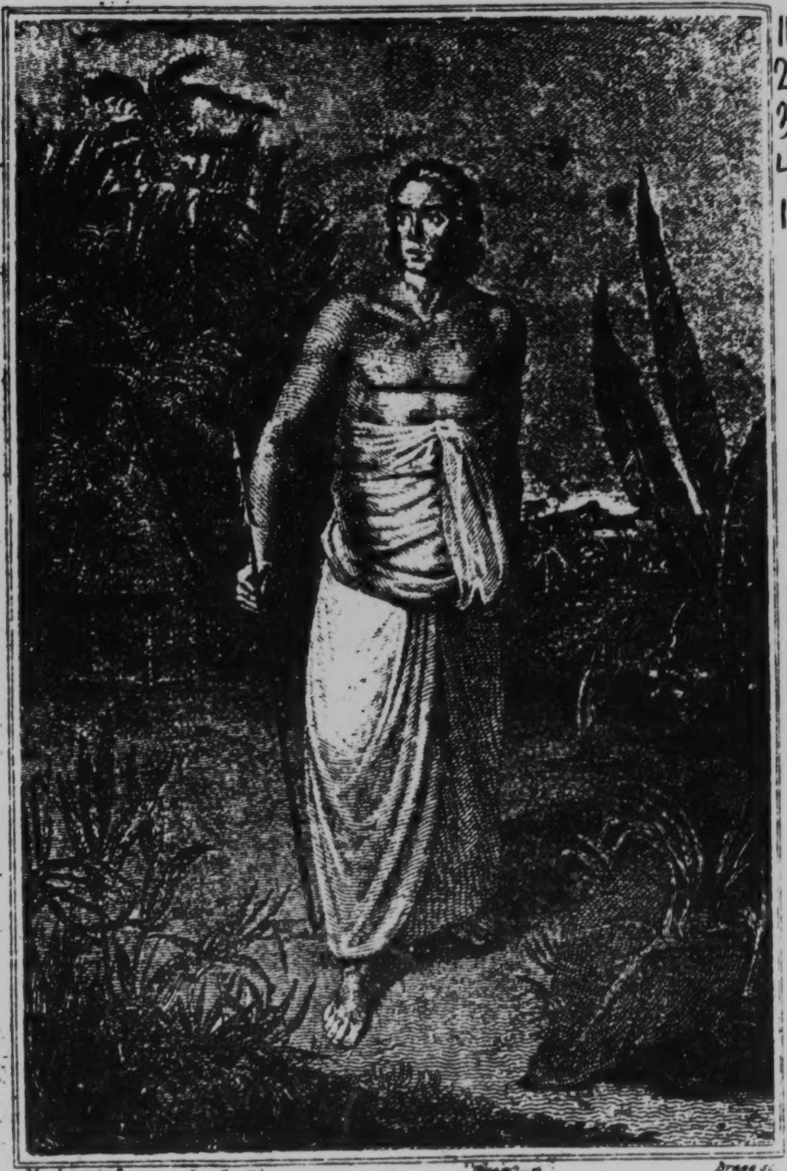

Mouchet pinx.

Bragg sc.

Mr. MARINER in the COSTUME of the TONGA ISLANDS.

[facing p. iii]

London Published Feby. 2. 1818. by J Murray. Albemarle Street.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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formerly received from Mr. Mariner. 114 When they spoke the Tonga language together, I noticed the similarity of their pronunciation and accent: when Higgins sang and exhibited some Tonga dances in presence of several of my friends, whilst Mr. Mariner also sang and beat time according to the native method *, we were struck with the accuracy of the description of these amusements in the "voyages of Captain Cook." But to be brief, however satisfied I have hitherto been with Mr. Mariner's details, I issue this second

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* To give greater effect to the scene, Mr. Mariner was dressed as represented in the frontispiece, and Higgins's only [291] apparel was a sort of circular apron, made of loose strips of matting very thickly set, and at the top plaited so as to form a band round the lower waist, (the pelvis) from which the strips hung down nearly to the knees: this was to represent the apron of the leaves of the *chi* tree, used by the natives on such occasions. He had also a wreath of artificial flowers round the head, and another round the neck. He is [304] beautifully tattowed from the hips nearly to the knees, agreeably to the custom of the Tonga people. Upon them it appears of a black colour, but upon a white man it causes the skin to resemble soft blue satin. The neatness, and I might almost say, the mathematical precision with which the pattern is executed, far surpasses the expectation of all who see it for the first time.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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it was now sufficiently evident, merely meant to imply that some of Mr. Mariner's countrymen lay dead where he pointed, and that they were going to roast or bake some hogs there. [727]

From this place he was led towards the island of Foa. On the way they stopped at a hut, where they stripped him of his trowsers, notwithstanding his earnest solicitations to retain them; for he already felt the effect of the sun upon his back, and dreaded a total exposure to its heat. He was now led about bare-footed, and without any thing to cover him, the heat blistering his skin in a most shocking manner. Every now and then some or other of the natives came up to him from motives of curiosity, felt his skin to compare it with their own, or likened it rather (as he afterwards understood) to the skin of a scraped hog, from its whiteness: from malice or rather wantonness they spat upon him, pushed him about, and threw sticks and cocoa-nut shells at him, so that his head was cut in several places. After having thus tantalized and [291] led him about for a considerable length of time, as fast as the soreness of his feet would permit him to walk, a woman happening to pass near at hand, from motives of compassion gave him an apron made of the leaves of the chee-tree, with which he was permitted to cover himself. Coming at length to a hut, they entered and sat [276]

[576]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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about? "Follow me," said he, "and I will 727
"take you where you have never been before; 481
"and where Finow, and his chiefs and matabooles, are now assembled." Mr. Mariner, supposing it to be the famous cavern of which he had heard some account, without any further hesitation, prepared* himself to follow his companion, who dived into the water, and he after him, and, guided by the light reflected from his heels, entered the opening in the rock, and having dived through the passage, which is about eight or nine feet in length, rose into
the cavern. He was no sooner above the sur- 727
face of the water than, sure enough, he heard the voices of the king and his friends: being directed by his guide, he climbed upon a jutting portion of rock, and sat down. All the light that came into this place was reflected from the bottom, and was sufficient, after remaining about five minutes, to show objects with some little distinctness; at least he could

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* It is proper to mention that in presence of a superior [291]
chief, it is considered very disrespectful to be undrest: under [576]
such circumstances as the present, therefore, every one re- [565]
tires a little, and as soon as he has divested himself of his usual dress, slips on an apron made of the leaves of the chi tree, or of matting called gie: the same respect is shewn if it be necessary to undress near a chief's grave; because some hotooa or god may be present.

000 coming now replete with the powder, when quite dry they work it up with great care and attention, occupying three or four hours in frizzing it out with a sort of comb, to a considerable distance from the head, resembling an immense wig, from four to nine inches thick, being raised equally from the head, at the top, back, and sides. Like the Tonga people, they A generally go bareheaded; but to preserve this fine head-dress from being injured by the dews of the night, they usually cover it with about a square yard of white *gnatoo*, beaten out very fine, so as to appear the more light and elegant; and this is quite sufficient to keep off the moisture: they tie it on with remarkable neatness.

[171]
[291]

At the Fiji islands the boys and girls go quite naked, the girls till they are about ten years old, the boys till they are about fourteen: after which periods the girls wear the usual dress of the women, which consists merely in a sort of circular apron, about a foot or fourteen inches broad, worn quite round the waist: when they grow old, it is increased to about a foot and a half in breadth. At the age of fourteen the boy begins to wear the *mahi*, or usual dress of the men, which has been accurately described by Captain Cook, as seen by him at the Sandwich islands, where they use the same,

A [The Fijians--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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and had opportunities of receiving confirmations of what he had heard from Cow Mooala (see Chap. X.). The natives appeared to be a race considerably inferior to the Tonga people, partaking rather of the negro cast of countenance and form, at least in a small degree. As far as Mr. Mariner had opportunities of observing, their domestic comforts appeared much inferior to those of the people he had just left. They do not oil themselves, and to this he attributes the coarseness and harshness of skin, which is so different from that of the Tonga people. Their hair was somewhat more curly, and rather disposed to be woolly. Their whole external character, taking it generally, seemed fierce and warlike, rather than brave and noble. Their only dress was the *mahi* (see Vol. I. Chap. X.), and this nakedness of appearance serves at once to sink them in a degree of civilization below the natives of Tonga, and the Society islands. It is to be lamented that Mr. Mariner had not opportunities of seeing more of the natives of these islands than he did, with a view of drawing a juster comparison between them and the people whose manners he was so well acquainted with; but the apprehension that some accident might again detain him just on the eve of his return to civilized society, pre-

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has the first cup; the presiding mataboole, 276
not actually officiating, has the second; the 574
third, fourth, fifth, and perhaps sixth cups, are 565
given to the next higher persons in the superior 576
circle; and then the chiefs who have retired to 796
the exterior circle are, out of respect, helped; but this rests at the option of the officiating mataboole; afterwards the remainder of the superior circle are served.

At smaller cava parties, the forms and words 276
of ceremony are precisely the same; but when 574
a priest does not preside, familiar conversation, and even joke and merriment, are indulged in. On all occasions every individual pays the [291]
greatest attention to his dress, that it be decorous and well tied on, that is, with neatness*.

We have been particular in the description of 796
the ceremony of preparing and drinking this in- 128

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cup was actually filled and presented to the god: thus, [776]
before any cup is filled, the man by the side of the bowl says, [778]
Cava gooa héca, The cava is deposited (in the cup): the mataboole answers, *Angi ma ho egi,* Give it *to* your god; but this is mere form, for there is no cup filled for the god.

* Some of our readers will perhaps find some difficulty in believing this, but nothing is more true than that the Tonga people of any degree of rank are very particular in regard of their personal cleanliness and neatness of dress; insomuch that a man will often refuse to join a neighbouring cava party, because the *gnatoo* which he happens to have on may not be so new or so good as he could wish.

287 shore, and the finishing operation of *toogi hea*
531 commences, or staining it in certain places with
[386] the juice of the *hea*, which constitutes a brilliant red varnish; this is done in straight lines along those places where the edges of the printed portions join each other, and serves to conceal the little irregularities there; also in sundry other places, in the form of round spots about an inch and a quarter in diameter: after this the *gnatoo* is exposed one night to the dew, and the next day being dried in the sun, it is packed up in bales to be used when required. When *gnatoo* is not printed or stained, it is called *tapa*.

287 They make also an inferior kind of *gnatoo* of
[764] the bark of young bread-fruit trees, which, however, is coarse, and seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals.

[462] The whole of these operations are performed
[565] by women: the embroidering of the *cobechis*,
[413] or stamps, is always done by women of rank.

[391] In respect to mat and basket-making, they have mats of various kinds, made of strips of
285 leaves or bark selected, dried, and otherwise
[462] prepared; all of which, except one or two of a coarser kind, are fabricated by women. The following are the names and qualities of them.

● [291] *Gnafi gnafi*, mats to wear, of a finer quality, made of the leaves of the *fa* or *paoongo*, that

have been transplanted, in order to give them 285
a finer and softer texture. [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the 285
fow or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes 237
to keep out the wet, as the water does not da- [292]
mage them: they appear as if they were made
of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he
saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made
of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed [177]
that it must have been procured from some
horses that Cook had left there.

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves 285
of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of 513
various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy
or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole
length of the house.

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the 285
fa; they are very strong and light. [501]

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of [352]
the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very [353]
ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut
leaves: they are used to screen the sides of
houses from the weather.

Cato, baskets: these are of various construc- [415]
tions; sometimes of a sort of matting made [531]
with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.;
at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk

The first appearance of day is the
512 time of rising: they then get up, wrap their
515 *gnatoos* round them, and go out to bathe either
[302] in the sea or in a pond; or, if neither is at hand, they have water poured over them out of cocoa-nut shells: they are very particular in cleaning their mouths, and frequently rub their teeth either with cocoa-nut husk or charcoal: they dry themselves with a piece of *gnatoo*, wrap their dress loosely round them, return to their houses, and oil themselves all over, generally with cocoa-nut oil scented with the aroma of flowers; great chiefs frequently use the same oil scented with sandal wood. When bathing, they either wear an apron of *gnatoo*, or of the
291 leaves of the *chi* tree. When they have bathed
512 and oiled themselves, they put on their dress with all possible neatness: that of the men consists but of one piece of *gnatoo*, measuring about eight feet by five or six; this is folded round the body in a very neat manner: there are two or three modes, but the one which is considered the most elegant, and therefore the most usual among chiefs, is represented in the frontispiece: that part which circles round the waist is readily loosened, and brought over the head and shoulders, in case it should be necessary to go out at night. There is a band which goes round the body just above the hips, made also of *gnatoo*, but which is, for the most part,

concealed by the folds that go round the waist. 291
There is some little difference in the way in 512
which females adjust their *gnatoos*, but the
chief distinction of their dress is a small mat *,
which they wear round the middle, and is about
a foot in breadth. Pregnant women, and old
women, wear their dress in front so as to cover
the breasts. Children are not encumbered
with dress when at home till they are about two
years old: when they go out, they have a piece
of *gnatoo* wrapped round them.

Having bathed, oiled, and dressed them- 512
selves, the chiefs hold cava parties, at which 276
women seldom attend, for as they are no great 574
cava drinkers, they generally form a circle of [562]
their own, and eat a meal; they take cava,
however, at the same time, in a small quantity;
whilst the men, on the contrary, take a large
quantity of cava, and most of them very little
food, as they generally eat a hearty meal about
the middle of the day. The morning cava party
usually lasts from two to five hours, according to
the pleasure of the chiefs. After cava, the old 512
men generally retire to their houses to sleep, or 424
to amuse themselves with farther conversation. 517
The younger ones follow the example or wishes
of their superior chiefs, and make an excursion

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* It would be considered highly indecorous and contrary to the táboo for females to appear without this mat.

was to attract eligible young ladies. These amorous dandies, however, seem 539
to have had no real place in Tongan society, and some Tongans regard them 538
as exotics, belonging to Samoa rather than to Tonga. Families exploited the 584
charms of handsome relatives to win as many brides as possible, with 829
attendant material and social advantages. In Samoan, *manaia* is a young
chief of marriageable age.

The following popular tale recounts Vaenuku's loss of the Tui Tonga's 539
daughter through the wiles of Lepuha.

Vaenuku, who lived at Valu in Eua, was not highborn, but was very handsome. His whole person was handsome, but especially beautiful was his golden hair, which he was wont to keep confined by a turban, and when the turban was loosed his locks gleamed like a cluster of ripe hala fruit. The name of his home was Holoamanu (Resort of birds, that is, of women, who resorted to his home in the evening, and left for their own residences in the morning).

Now word was sent throughout the Tongan group that the handsome men should come to Tongatabu, that a husband might be chosen for the Tui Tonga's daughter (12, pp. 179-80). So the handsome men came from the various islands; but the men pre-eminent for beauty were an unnamed man from Haano, in Haapai; Lepuha of Vavau; and Vaenuku of Eua. Lepuha belonged to Leimatua in Vavau, and his compound was called Tapana, hence the expression "hila ki Tapana" (glance at Tapana), because the women, as they passed along the road, used to look aside at the home of the handsome gallant.

Preparations were being made for the festivities, the suitors had arrived, excepting Vaenuku, who seems to have arrived on the day after the ceremonies and rejoicings had actually commenced. When the suitors who had first arrived had gathered together, their principal attendants (*mua*, seconds)[1] attempted to gain an audience with the lady, to arrange a meeting with their chiefs before the marriage ceremony. But in this they were unsuccessful. The maiden kept herself completely hidden; her compound, too, was fenced, and none could enter without permission.

Since the seconds could effect nothing, the handsome men themselves hid on the road to the maiden's bathing-pool, to see the bathing (*mata kaukau*), "For that was the custom in those days of the *manaia*."

Vaenuku came on this day from Eua, unattended by any second. He
guessed that the maiden's bathing time would be towards the cool of the
evening. His kilt was a fine mat of fau fiber (*kie-fau*), and his girdle was [291]
the plait called *tuingapapaimatekitau*, named after the fortress Matekitau. [552]
He came up inland at Laulea, a beach in the eastern district of Tongatabu,
and timed his journey to arrive at Mua, where the Tui Tonga lived, towards
the cool of the evening. When he arrived in Mua he waited until the

6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau hapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. 539

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga va*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [921]

2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu;* it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *huluhulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseiiala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo.

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children. [857]

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent. [515]

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability.

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son,* second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. 539 585 515

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. 539

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

14. It is tapu for a boat to pass to windward of another boat on which there is a greater chief. So Falepapalangi says to his rival that he desires to vaunt himself the greater man of the two. 539 565 784

15. The ending seems abrupt, and possibly there are lines missing. 505

Page 72. Falepapalangi

1. A woman freshly adorned from her toilet. Mother and new-born are also smeared with turmeric. 302

2. The opening of the turban allows the fragrance of the oil with which the head is anointed to escape. 846 302

3. "Chatter without going a voyage" is equivalent to "Talking about what you have never been to see, so little of a sailor that you would be sick in a pond."

4. This is sarcasm directed at the rival. "We hear the sounds of pleasure and think that the Vavau bard is amusing his fellow countrymen; but no, it turns out to be only the murmuring of the wind in the toa trees."

5. The situation of Fekitetele has evidently been long unknown. There is a fragment of a poem which refers to it as a name only whose position is unknown.

Fekite-tele te mau tala	Fekite-tele we shall tell
Koe'uhi pe hono hingoa	Only because of its name
Ka kuo 'ikai hono tu'unga.	But it has no position.

6. The homeless Vavauan is the rival, who is living in Tongatabu but has no real standing or home there. It is only by an act of grace that the chiefs of Tongatabu allow him to live with them.

Pages 72-73. A poem of Falepapalangi to Mamaeaepoto

1. Those who sail to Tongatabu, namely, the people of Haapai and Vavau.

2. Gift, the *inasi*, which was a ceremonious, religious offering of the first-fruits to the Tui Tonga, a harvest festival, was also used of the portions into which presentations of food, mats, and the like, are divided. Probably the reference is not to the religious festival, but to the portion of a chief in any ceremony. 651 796

3. Houmahaaloau and Anamanu, both in Vavau.

4. A gesture of giving up; renouncing; having no more to do with.

5. Falalatokelau is unidentified but probably is in Vavau, and apparently the meaning of the reference is that Mamaeaepoto has given up singing the praises of Vavau.

6. Toa and *feifai* are trees used in the toilet.

7. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu. Later on in the poem words are used which would make it seem as though the Tui Tonga was the king referred to. At the death of the last Tui Tonga in 1865 these words were formally transferred to the then Tui Kanokupolu, and have continued in his house, that of the reigning family. Even if this piece was composed before that transference, it is possible that courtesy might have allowed of the Tui Kanokupolu's being addressed in the highest terms. Probably it is best not to press the matter too closely but merely to say the king. 539 643 644 539

8. Mat (*ngafingafi*) is the ordinary cincture of respect in the presence of chiefs. The *fatai*, a creeping plant, seems to have been regarded as especially appropriate to men who had just come from the sea. Evidently the meaning here is that the king told Falepapalangi to dress himself in readiness to perform before him. 291 576 824

9. Falepapalangi represents himself as sitting on the deck of the windward canoe and hearing, perhaps from the deck of the larger canoe, the songs and conversation, and finds that he himself, or his poem, is being criticized, presumably in a composition of Mamaeaepoto.

10. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto would better compose a poem about Kafoa and leave him alone.

11. The gull (*tala*) is the poet himself, ranging for subjects, and lighting on some beautiful headland.

12. The simile, a beach where boats put in from all quarters, denotes that he is a meeting-place of many excellences, or a poet to whom many people resort, or a poet to whom many subjects furnish inspiration.

13. The meaning of this last part of the poem "I don't care what you do with my poetry; take it anywhere, to Akana (in Samoa, Aana), Tamatuitala (unidentified

Pages 119-120. If there be a stranger 533

1. This line is the refrain, sung after every line. 539

2. Haapuopuai, a pool on shore near Mua.

3. Talilaki, a difficult opening in the reef passed through in going by sea from Nukualofa to Mua. [103]

4. Nukufeheaki; unidentified in this locality, is probably an islet. [103]

5. The *mohokoi*, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers; is apparently that known to Europeans as ylang-ylang (*Cananga odorata*). [103] [824]

6. Apparently a woman is represented as the speaker, addressing a lover who has come over the sea, and must return to the land whence he came. Oil is given by women.

7. Vaiola and Hunibush are nicknames apparently of chiefs and lovers of the speaker's own land. She would have given the stranger oil and garlands, but these other two have prevented her, at least from giving as much as she had intended. [551]

8. Halaleva is a road near Nukualofa, famed for the plentifulness of its fragrant plants and flowers. The women of this favored spot scent themselves by placing leaves in the *kona*, the fold of the *vala* at the waist. [103] [302]

9. The names mentioned in this passage are all of localities. [103]

10. The *faonelua* is a species of *Pandanus*, very rare and highly valued. One of these trees stands in Mua, and is commonly reported to be the only one in Tonga. [824]

11. Lapaha, a part of Mua. [103]

12. The reference is to *funganiua*, the *sisi*, leaf girdle and skirt, with a double row (*fungani*) of plaiting entwined with flowers, at the top. [291]

13. At Mua festivals and garlands are so common that the fragrant *sisi* is the girdle even of commoners. [291]

14. The green in Mua, Feingakotone, is where the festivals and sporting contests (*kotone*) of the Tui Tonga were held. It is not so much a name as a descriptive title of this place, *feinga* meaning doing-place, place where a thing is done. The word is much like the English Sports Ground. [368] [192]

15. Folaosioeiki, a place name. [103]

16. This line is not clear. Provisionally I have taken Takuimalae as the name of a *malae*, but taku, or *takui*, may be a tree standing on a green (*malae*).

17. Takuilau, Ahofakasiu, and Fepaki are place names; Tangitangi is probably a place name also, though the word means opening of the buds, and it is possible that the line should read, "Takuilau with opening flowers." [103]

Page 121-125. Chanties

1. "Carried astern," going astern, may mean that the chanty was sung while the canoe was going astern, or the reference may allude to something in the form of the chanty itself. The composer says that he should be rewarded with sweet-smelling garlands (*pipitongi* and *lolohea*), or that the chanty itself is pleasant like these fragrant things. For a different interpretation see Gifford (21, p. 17). [502]

2. Keitahi and Falefilimoto are localities on the weather shore of Vavau. [103]

3. The sites of Tuniloa and Tele are not identified. Both names are listed by Gifford; but not as of natural features suitable to this contest. The lookout place (*matanga*) is a commanding position whence a good view of sea or land can be obtained. The same word is used of a thing seen, a notable object; and also of the spectators at a festival. [103] [192]

4. Fangmofuike (Beach of earthquake) is a beach in Vavau, evidently where the women resort to bathe and dress their hair with lime. This is unlikely a reference to any particular woman, but a general description of what happens at this beach. [103]

5. These verses appear to be rather an ungallant address to a lady, intimating that she must look elsewhere for a lover.

6. Valefanau is a locality near Kolovai, the principal village of Hihifo. Iloituunga is probably the name of a place in the same neighborhood. [103]

7. This is an old chanty, still used in dragging sleds on which large presentations of food are placed (*toho umu*). The *pekipaki* is a sea creature popularly called blue-bottle. The singer likens himself to sea creatures able to outlast the rigors and hardships of the sea. The term *fiuanga* here means one who contends with and overcomes sea, cold, and wind. [483] [825]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it,
776 that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes
825 use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.

571 **382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:**

539 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the
782 *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p.
244 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *To'uji aki vahaa ufi*, which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 **383. Fie namu pako:** - Wishing to smell of *pako*.

302 The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the
157 oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desir-
554 ing to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the
565 less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 **384. Fuji mo omo:** Pulling and slipping.

735 Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indi-
291 cate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *vala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 **385. Laukau falelava:** Finery of various sorts.

291 *Laukau*, personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory
301 nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 **386. Mafana a penu kehe:** Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

421 One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but
513 can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala*. 539 292 183

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the *taovala* always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery. 539 291 177

Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck.

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry through exposure to the weather. 539 291 735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk dress. 539 291 554

Evidently modern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539 828

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings.

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell. 539 152 201

Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear.

539 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed
836 maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who
302 after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands
585 of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making
565 a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.
262 Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked
585 with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and
meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 **460. See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.
584 Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable
571 person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in"
888 where he is not wanted.

539 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish
584 about.
829 This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and
584 Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome (*manaia*) Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[576] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression
means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencum-
[282] bered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and
so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the
explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the
[826] best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as
a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression
[831] is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving. 539 565 829 183

The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand. 539 565 557

Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind. 539 643 829

Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule, but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs. 539 565 622 731 511

The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it telling the king? 539 578 643

Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake. 539 565 622 195 537

The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The front of your *vala* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man. 539 565 554 291

This refers to the chiefly *vala* or dress, called *vakai*, which consists of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 the waist, and with the outside end rather high up on the left side of the
565 front of the body. This whole dress covers the body much further up
554 than does the ordinary *vala* or waist-cloth. It is said that a foreigner
291 called Fauolo went to live in the island of Haafeva in Haapai and that
his daughter bore a son to a chief belonging to the Tui Tonga's family. A child who is chiefly on one side only is said to be *ila, ila* to, or of, such a chief. Fauolo's grandson gave himself the airs of a great chief, and this phrase is the rebuke administered to him by chiefs whose birth was noble on both sides. The expression may be used generally as a rebuff to those who wish to pass themselves off as something greater than they really are but is especially the taunt of chiefs whose blood is chiefly on both the father's and the mother's side to chiefs whose birth is plebeian on one side.

539 **539. Pule faaoa:** Rule violently seized.
642 Scarcely perhaps to be classed strictly with proverbial expressions.
578 It means authority which has been usurped, or grasped by the strong hand.

539 **540. Talafono a Pakava:** Instructions of Bakava.
622 Bakava was a Fijian chief who used to give instructions to his people
565 that they must not eat the *tava (Pometia pinnata)*, a pleasantly flavored
626 edible fruit, while he held himself exempted from his own "tabu," and
freely plucked and ate the forbidden fruit. This expression is applied to a chief who prohibits to his people a privilege which he himself enjoys.

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

643 [The Tui Kanokupolu is a great chief of Western Tongatabu into whose
643 hands regal power was more and more passing with the decline of the
178 Tui Tonga. The birth of several notable warriors and statesmen into this
family and the trend of events after the introduction of Christianity have resulted in placing the present constitutional monarchy of the whole Tongan group in the hands of this house. The title of the King or Queen of Tonga is now Tui Kanokupolu.]

539 **541. Faka-Pangai:** Pangai fashion.
643 Pangai is the name of the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu and
644 there are a number of localities scattered through the group which bear
431 this name on account of their association with the Tui Kanokupolu. When
103 presenting food to the Tui Kanokupolu the donors would desire to make
their gifts seemly and consonant with the dignity of the great chief. Small gifts, therefore, would be wrapped up in large coverings and placed in capacious baskets. The expression, which is confined to gifts of food, is "applied to small quantities of food put into large baskets." (Baker.)

539 **542. Koe moa kehe oku uua i Pangai:** It's a different cock that is
643 crowing in Pangai.
644 Pangai is the name of the place where the Tui Kanokupolu holds his
103 court and has become the proper name of several localities in the Tongan
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OUTRIGGER CANOES

Bobao

501 The *bobao* of today, a small paddling canoe, has a dugout hull, the bottom
round, the sides tumble-home, and commonly so roughly hewn out as to be little
more shapely and adapted to be a canoe than one of the village slit drums were it
[101] to have the ends pointed. As observed during my visit to the islands in 1925, the
hulls range in size from 10 to 15 feet in length, with an outside beam at the gunwale
of 8 to 9 inches, increasing at the bilge to 12 to 16 inches; the depth ranges

[241
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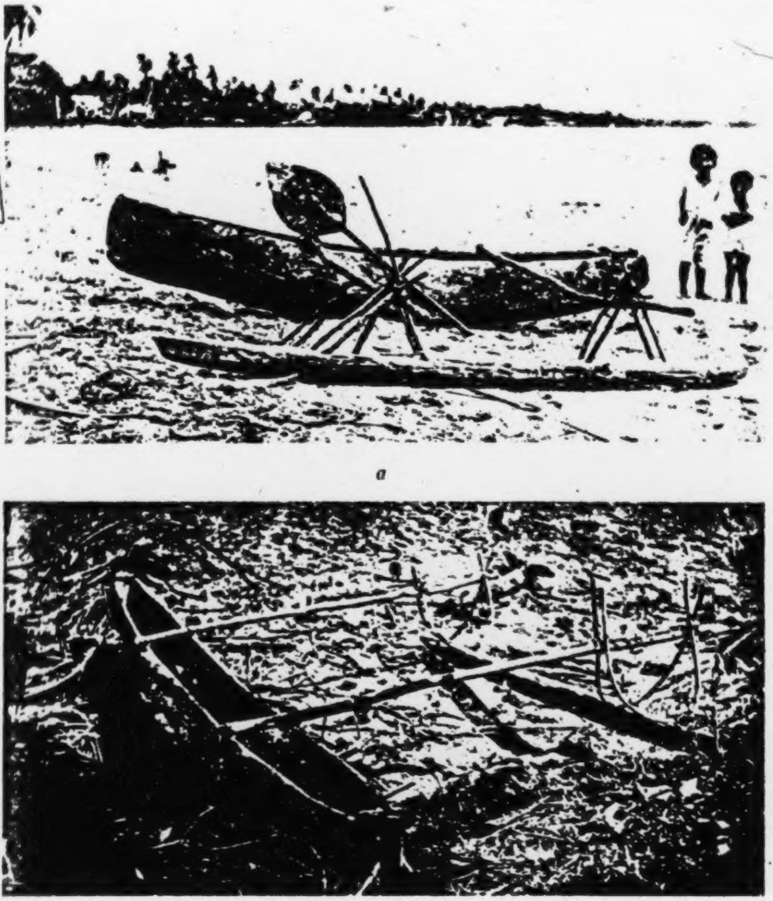

Figure 180.—Modern Tongan dugout outrigger canoes (*bobao*): *a*, from Haapai, connectives are paired sticks, the forward set reinforced by an unpaired one; *b*, from Vavao, two double U connectives to each boom (photographed in 1925).

> 175 a *tu'a tele*, their equivalent of the *tongiaki*, when going on a fishing excursion toward Uvea.]
> . . . The rig of these vessels is so excellent and they go so well under sail that there are few
> 501 ships in Holland that could overhaul them. They steer them by means of two oars at the
> [171] stern, one for each canoe.

175 Toward the upper end of the sail a figure representing a cock was outlined.
501 This was evidently a common Tongan custom, for Forster (1777, vol. 1, p. 462),
285 after remarking that some of these double canoes are large enough to carry 150
531 men, adds, "Their sails are latine, made of strong mats in which the rude figure
of a tortoise or a cock, etc., is sometimes represented".

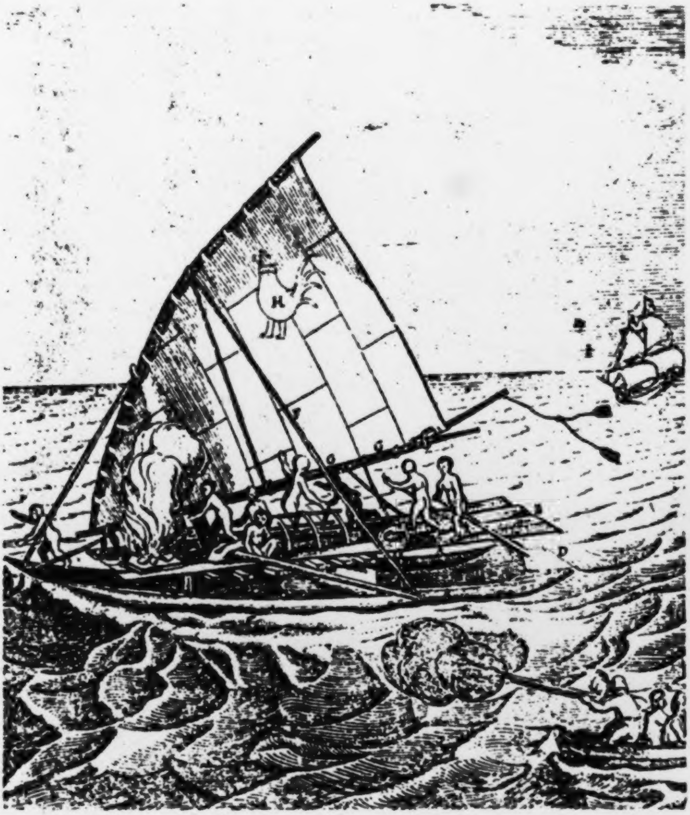

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FIGURE 189.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tafahi in 1616 (from Schouten, 1619).

175 Twenty-seven years later, when Tasman discovered the Tongan islands (1643),
this fine double canoe so impressed him that he devoted a whole page of his journal
501 to the illustration of one under full sail (1898, fig. 2); another drawing shows
two of the same kind of craft at anchor. (See fig. 190.)

10: Hornell E,N-4,5 (1925) 1936 OU9 Tonga OU9

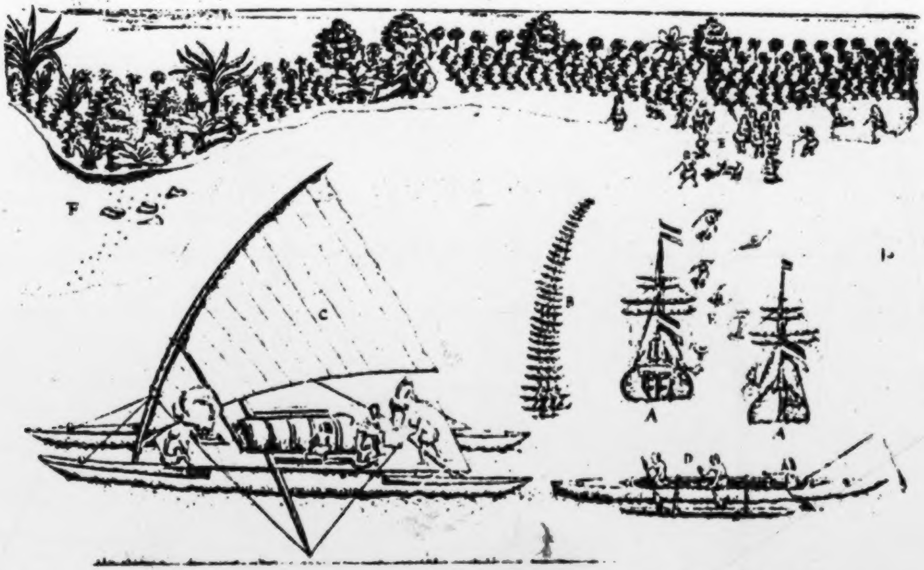

Figure 190.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tongatabu in 1643, masthead crutch-shaped, two steering paddles in action; right, bonito fishing canoe (*tafa'anga*), fishing rod correctly shown behind aftmost paddler (after Tasman, 1898).

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12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

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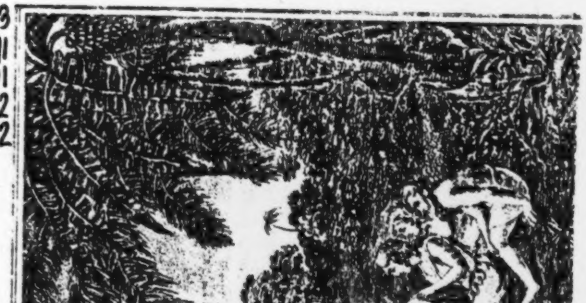

[p.ii] [p.i is blank]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 297 the path of duty, which are generally taken by most backsliders, soon led me into still farther aberrations from the right way. I began to dislike the means of grace, I never visited the brethren, found delight in the company, manners and amusements of the natives; and soon took too large a part in them. As the religious impressions of my mind were weakened, the corrupt dispositions of my heart gathered strength. Yet, at times, my conscience troubled me with loud accusations of inconsistency; which forced me to pray. At length, however, I became so hardened as to despise my convictions; and totally absented myself from those appointed periodical meetings of the brethren, which might have revived them. My regard for them daily diminished, and I left off visiting them.

My evil inclinations, now unchecked by law, and by the reverential sense of the Divine Being, gradually gained the dominion. As my sense of the turpitude and guilt of sin was weakened, the vices of the natives appeared less odious and criminal. After a time, I was induced to yield to their allurements, to imitate their manners, and to join them in their sins.

Modesty, by degrees, lost with me its moralizing charm; and it was not long ere I disincumbered myself of my European garment, and contented myself with the native dress. [291] The dress of the chiefs principally consisted of a piece of cloth,

several yards in extent, wrapped round the body, 175
and fastened by a peculiar kind of knot, below the 797
bosom, whence it hung down loose, below the
knee. This dress, by being tied close with a belt, 291
was sufficiently long to throw the upper part over
the shoulders. But however this was done at other 175
times, it was always thrown off the shoulders when- 797
ever a chief came in sight. The women were not 576
excused from this humiliating token of submission, 565
as long as they were in the presence of a chief. A 291
person who should neglect this would be instantly
struck to the ground, as guilty of the greatest dis-
respect.

This full dress however was too costly for the ge- 175
nerality to procure, nor do the chiefs always wear it.
The general dress is the Jiggee. This is made of the 291
Gee leaves, which spring up from a large root and are very broad and strong. These are shreded fine; and being thickly entwined in a belt of the same kind, and fastened round the waist, they hang down to the mid-thigh like a full fringe. On festive occasions this is a very common dress with the women as well as the men, especially in their publick dances, when the only addition to this dress are encircling strings of flowers. There are none but can obtain the Jiggee-dress.

The inferior classes, however, often wear only the maro, which is a belt about four or five inches broad, crossed and fastened round the waist. And indeed

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 when they are employed in fishing or any other ac-
291 tive business, or when they go to war, this covering
generally composes the whole of their dress.

At this time Shelly, one of my former companions,
175 came to see me; he was struck with grief and sur-
797 prise at my appearance; and seriously reproved me
for it. My conscience seconded his repoofs. I acknowledged my error, but excused myself by a variety of empty pretexts; such as the warmth of the climate, the general custom of the natives; its convenience in a country, where, when clothes were wet, it was difficult to dry them again, and when worn out, impossible to renew them. Shelly heard my excuses with pity, but did not see into the long train of evils connected with this violation of propriety: nor knew that my conscience, while I spoke, condemned the excuses with which I had softened his severity. In truth, the various temptations to which, till now, I had been an entire stranger, were too pleasing to the inclinations and suitable to the taste of a young man of twenty-five.

Unhappily, as the companion of the chiefs, I was constantly exposed to temptation, being present at every alluring scene.

He that indulges an evil imagination with amusements that tend to pollute the heart, will soon be seduced into criminality. No wonder, then, that the voluptuous attractions of several objects, thus

miles in breadth; while, in length, it was upwards 175
of twenty-six miles. I cannot, however, from my 797
own knowledge, ascertain its proper extent, having 669
been often much deceived respecting the relative [133]
distance of places, through the pain and fatigue of
travelling barefoot: the natives never using any 175
protection for the feet, in the form of bandage or 797
sandal, and my own shoes being soon worn out, or 481
stolen by the natives, who, though they knew not [291]
the use of them, yet as belonging to us they conceived
they must be valuable.

I recollect travelling a whole day in company with Harper and Futtafaihe, to see Duatonga at Mooa, but walking barefoot, I was so fatigued and pained that I thought it must be at least thirty miles, but, upon inquiry, I found it to be only seventeen.

When the war terminated with the subjection of 175
the Aheefans, by the party of Loogolala, and we 797
had retired to Arbai, the five brethren returned to
Aheefo, and put themselves again under the protection of Komavai, with whom I understood they now resided.

I had some intention of visiting them, but I understood that an European vessel was off the island. I immediately hastened to the beach and went on board. It was an English ship with a spanish prize in her possession: she had put in here for provisions, by the persuasion of John Harris, who was on board. He had settled at Otaheite after he had

177 609 795 [484] [872] or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass. The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

177 609 291 [797] This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

177 [157] Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-contact women are more conservative than men in taking over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu,

287 A group of say, sixteen women
464 will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark
cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided
571 among all the women who shared in the work. Each house-
461 hold tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth
[433) always on hand. This supply should last the household from
one to four years, depending upon the size of the household,
the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and
the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

287 The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job.
There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today.
531 In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to
[435) five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the
required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their
[426) return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty
fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value
of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide
variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox
flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs
which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan
flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many
[178) women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils.
They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-
painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth
[386) give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today
some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less
[178) troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye
these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared
with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

285 The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

---

[10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt"
291 (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic
292 association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton
285 piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging
from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men
fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear,
with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and
[576) women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when
respect and humility require symbolization.

goods (used for making the *vala*, dresses, etc.), shirts and 438
vests are vitally important in order to conserve what might 177
be called a decency-status in village life.[16] Soap and blue
are similarly necessary to keep both clothing and the person
reasonably clean. Tobacco for the villager is more than a
luxury, specially when alcoholic liquor is practically unobtainable.
Reels of cotton, though costing relatively little, play a
vital part in clothes-repairing. Lastly, teething-powders, 438
which account for almost one quarter of the expenditure 177
on the items with which it is grouped in the table above 757
(one per cent. also out of total store expenditures), perform 854
the incredibly useful function of keeping teething infants
from wailing wretchedly day and night and thus preserve
a sufficient measure of quiet for adults to sleep. (Expert [165]
medical opinion in Tonga suggests that the frequent use of
these teething-powders, which generally contain a large
measure of powerful drugs, is one not unimportant contributory
factor in a high infant mortality among the villagers.
But it is hard to convince a Tongan of this fact; all the more
so in that adults, children, and infants all share the same floor
at night and the frustrations imposed upon one who would
sleep by the wailing of a toothache-racked child can always
be relieved by administering teething powders to the infant.)

The percentage-distribution of sales as set forth in this 443
table refers only to one of the two stores in the village. There 438
is no reason to think that the general percentages and proportions
would be materially altered were it also possible to
include sales from the second store in the village and also
sales made to villagers from the several stores in nearby
Neiafu.

Although some few men in the village obviously have a 434
greater yearly income of money than the majority, there 556
are as yet few signs of any tendency to reckon social prestige
in terms of wealth-accumulation. The village overseer, the

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[16] By Tongan law, rigidly enforced, men and women (both Tongan 291
and white) must cover with clothing upper and lower parts of the
body. Considerable ingenuity is exercised by those pleading before 671
Tongan courts in order to determine what constitutes for men an
upper garment that infringes neither law nor decency. Apparently a
necklace does not constitute an upper garment but a shirt collar with
hardly more than a tatter of shirt hanging precariously to the collar,
is considered to be well within the law!

855
boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's 861
household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears 857
to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, 861
independent of sex and almost independent of measures of
physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of 561
those older and in turn passes them on to those younger
still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour. The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded
by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger
whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our
houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls,
aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding
tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain
and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their
satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent 857
and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the 561
houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his
young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend
did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the
immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous 857
occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job
to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the 561
older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. 123
The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our
helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately
after the commands and orders would be resumed. The 857
principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan
society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should 561
in some measure be made the basis for the organization of
interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. 855
The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without 291
a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest
together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn (292)
for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses.
In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably (481)
swam in their clothes.

PUBERTY

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first 881
menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

177 [121] At the present stage of technical development in the social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such cultural elements as the following would come within the scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that there has been more cultural transference in the field of material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from the alien culture. 177 262 Thus many non-aboriginal foods are cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods for feast-purposes. 177 252 [415] In the preparation of foods, the process of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importation of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled food much of the time, using the native oven whenever something a little out of the ordinary is desired. 177 264 In the technique of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is still done with the fingers. 177 178 In the use of foods, therefore, the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any simplicity of statement.

177 291 178 292 The position is similar with regard to clothing. There is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

177 these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a
178 blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles
291 are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple
292 fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to
aboriginal or European custom.

178 Finally, to take but one more example, there has been
177 in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials.
342 In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs
of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan
form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials.
This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate
[343] cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form,
while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European
form. Is the present housing of the villager more European
than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again
it is hard to give a simple answer.

177 Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing
178 may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a
substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase,
gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses
"something new in accordance with something old."[34]

177 When we consider social and economic organization,
answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treatment
178 of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts
757 and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the
[304] control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced
and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such
[743] surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys,
where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery
to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end
177 of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has
178 been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are
771 relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in
aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on
Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of
the community.

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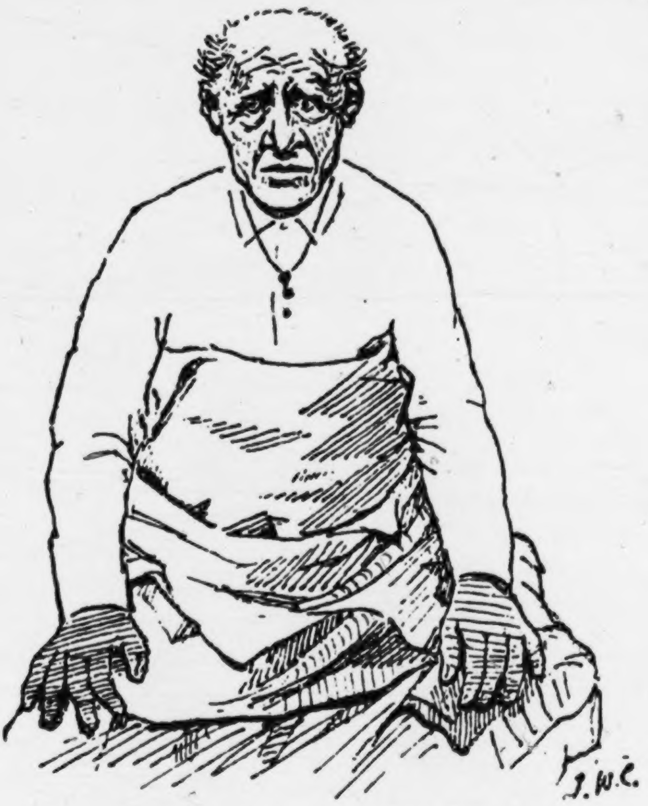
[113] [34] See Parsons, E. C., ***Mitla, Town of the Souls***, **Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book,** ***Acculturation***, **New York, 1938.**

nephew. He certainly looked the part of Treasurer of 645
an insolvent kingdom. His brow was deeply seamed 652
with the furrows of care, and he spoke little, as befits one



[142]
[291]
[302]

"*I am Minister of Finance.*"

upon whose wealth of resource the financial fate of a country hangs. But when the High Commissioner questioned him, the following conversation took place:—

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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dressed with all her signal flags, cast off amid deafening 798
cheers from the shore party, and as she swung out into the 167
stream she fired a salute. As the echoes of the last shot [533]
died away, the voices of the exiles were heard singing "Home, Sweet Home," in their own language, taking well-sustained parts; and they continued singing until we passed through the white line of reef-breakers, and the figures on shore had melted away in a cloud of white draperies. We had cast off our nationality, and were now Tongans.

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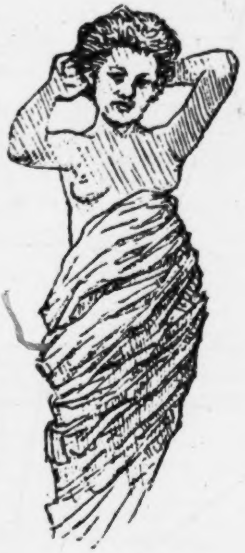

One of the Exiles.

Our fellow-passengers spent their first day at sea in holding religious services, and in fussing about their luggage. These exiles for conscience' sake had already reaped the reward of their constancy—an earthly reward in the form of mats, native cloth, kava-bowls, and all things that are most precious to the native heart. They numbered more than 120, and had left their homes almost naked. They went back with eighty tons of luggage—far more than they could possibly have accumulated in three years had they remained in their own country. Persecution had not been unprofitable.

A grey fuzzy line just above the horizon, gradually resolving itself into cocoanut-palms—such was our first sight of Tongatabu. We steamed along the south-east [133]
coast, the Liku, watching the surf spout up in a hundred

charged with that offence before the police court; but 644
Kubu, the new Minister of Police, who was then Police 645
798
687

[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

George Tukuaho.

Magistrate, was not a creature of Mr Baker, and dismissed the case. This would not do at all, and Mr Baker

644 looks like a gentleman. We had been good friends during
622 my former visit, while his wife Fujipala was still alive.
[493] When they dined with me on that occasion, they drove up
[291] in an antiquated buggy, with a Hindustani coachman from
Fiji, he in dress clothes, and she in mauve satin, bonnet
and boots included, attended by four maids of honour, as
befits a king's granddaughter who weighs seventeen stone.
Poor Fuji! her good sense and influence are badly wanted
now. Her son, Taufaahau, deprived of her control, was
running wild, and since he was generally regarded as the
heir to the king, it was imperative that Fatafehi should
[645] bring him under some sort of discipline. It was partly to
[793] urge this upon him that I had invited him to visit me,
[798] and partly because he had never shown animus against the
Wesleyans; and I wished him, as Governor of Haapai, to
endeavour to check the disaffection which the speeches
622 of the Free Church ministers were creating. When he
644 arrived, Vaea, a chief among the returned exiles, was
576 drinking tea. He had just taken a cup in one hand and a
784 piece of bread-and-butter in the other when the great man
264 was announced. "Who?" asked Vaea, not catching the
name. "Tui Belehake," I answered, giving his title; and
as I spoke the *portière* was flung aside and Fatafehi strode
in heartily. When I looked round Vaea had disappeared
from his chair, and was squatting in the corner with depending
lower jaw and eyes fixed vacantly on the ceiling.
I spoke to him once or twice, trying to include him in the
conversation, but he did not seem to hear. The only sign
of life about him was the trembling of the teacup in his
palsied hand. Suddenly he got up, and having no free
hand to move the curtain, he plunged at it head-foremost,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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source of amusement for the first few days. On week- 877
days they were taught shorthand and the higher mathe- 873
matics by native tutors in cap and gown; in the evenings [533]
they sang incessantly in excellently sustained parts. [212] [803]
On Saturday they turned out with knives and baskets to [796]
clean up the College premises; and on Sunday they all [291]
put on trousers and mortar-boards, and were marched off
two and two to church, carrying their shoes in their
hands. At the church-door the whole sixty pairs halted
to put on their boots, and enter the house of God with
dignity. They formed a magnificent choir of bass voices, [533]
and rendered the trashy Methodist hymns with a grandeur [796]
that would have greatly surprised their composers.
During the sermon the sixth form were busy transcribing [212]
the homily in shorthand.

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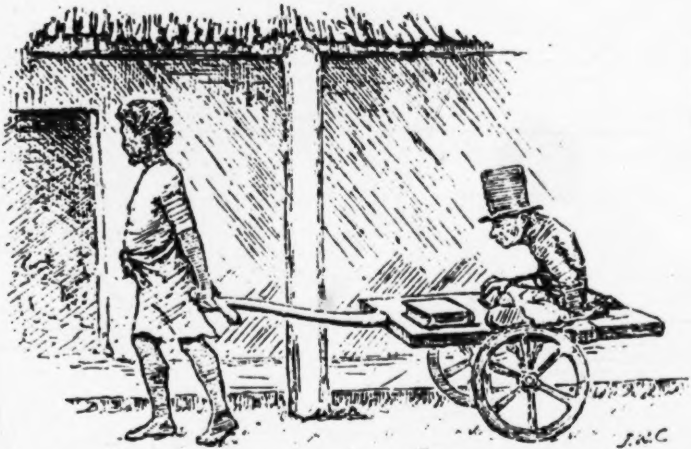
344 In Government House there were traces of a weatherboard
bungalow, but the shingles had long ago rotted
away, and been replaced from time to time with odd
scraps of galvanised iron, rust-eaten through and through.
The verandah posts had fallen, bringing down the roof
with them, and the gaps in the flooring were mended with
342 bits of an old canoe. But dilapidated as the house of his
Majesty's representative was, it was a mansion in comparison
to that of the Minister of Finance in Nukualofa,
which seemed only to hold together to clear the character
of its owner from any suspicion that an empty treasury
might reasonably attach to him.

645 It now transpired that Tukuaho had in his suite a
203 couple of spies devoted to his interests, whose business
[208] was to loaf into the houses of their acquaintances and
gauge public opinion. One of them, Peter Vi, would have
surpassed even the "Sham Squire" if they had been contemporaries.
His fat empty face and rotund person
disarmed suspicion; and he had besides an odour of the
cloth about him, for his father and grandfather were both
793 reverend pillars of the Free Church. The latter, indeed,
was the oldest native minister, and a contemporary of the
[291] king. He paid us a visit in a hand-cart soon after we
arrived, with a black coat over his *vala*, and a tall hat,
carefully brushed the wrong way, upon his reverend head.
The poor old gentleman had lost the use of his lower
limbs and of part of his intellect; but he said a prayer
over us, and went his way, leaving a vapour of respectability
behind him which doubtless served to rehabilitate
such disreputable politicians as we were believed to be:
for although his son, as a Free Church minister, is dis-

affected to the present Cabinet by profession, old Peter is 793
long past polemics, for all creeds seem much alike when
one is ninety, and expecting every day to have one's
doubts explained away. Young Peter was only a third 645
clerk in the Treasury at £10 a-year, and bad at arith- 203
metic, and he wanted to be Sub-Inspector of Police at [465]



"He paid us a visit in a hand-cart."

[493]
[291]

£25; so, having his way to make in the world, he was a loyal spy. The other was Tukuaho's cousin. He was an ex-convict, and looked his part of spy so well that I suspect that the conversation at once turned upon the weather in any house that he entered; but this did not prevent him from bringing blood-curdling reports of the hostility of the people, drawn probably from hearsay aided by a facile imagination.

Having despatched our spies on secret service, we had 342

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me appointed one of the Ministers and a member of the 643
Privy Council." 645

"Oh, Tubou will do that, of course. We cannot pass it without you. Look here, boy," he said, addressing his leader, "go to Tubou now—he's alone: I saw him as I came up. I will send a policeman to keep the listeners off."

So Tukuaho rather reluctantly girded on a ragged mat and [291]
walked down the slope to see his sovereign, and a police- [576]
man in a smart uniform tunic and bare legs followed to
clear the anteroom. This precaution proved to be useless,
for anon we heard the voice of our colleague proclaiming
State secrets in a voice that wounded the ear. He came
back delighted with himself. The king had laughed more
than once. The policeman had seen him laugh and would [521]
tell the town: it would have great results. Tubou had
told him all about the church he was building, and he
told Tubou the news from Tongatabu. It was this that
had made him laugh.

"But did he say that he would have a Council?" I asked anxiously, surprised at my colleague's levity.

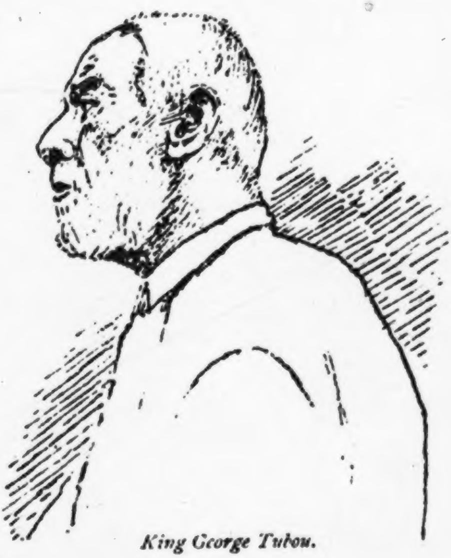
"Yes, at ten o'clock. I had almost forgotten."

"And did he say that I should be appointed Assistant Premier?"

"Yes, so he did. I am to write a letter of appointment for you."

Then we laid our plans. The new Ordinances must
first be passed, and as the king knew that the Privy
Council had power to pass Ordinances between the ses-
sions of the Legislative Council, there ought to be no
difficulty in persuading him to sign them. Then, if he [651]

645 laying it endways to the door so that its entire length
643 could be seen from within, retired. Then Fatafehi and I came forward. As soon as the king saw us he rose from his seat to fetch a chair for me from several that were set
[291] round the table in readiness for the Council. He was dressed in European clothes of rusty black cloth, and appeared to have been waiting for us for some time. The
342 644 house was divided
[142] [302] into three by reed partitions, and very meanly furnished: a green iron bedstead in the inner room covered with mats was the only bedroom furniture, and besides the table and office chairs in the middle room, there was only a shelf of the commonest crockery. The outer
643 [357] [697] [512] room was occupied by his servants, who, I believe, were prisoners. It was characteristic of the king that while he had a well-found house in Nukualofa, he lived from choice on the barest necessaries, and spent a large portion of his income on building churches.

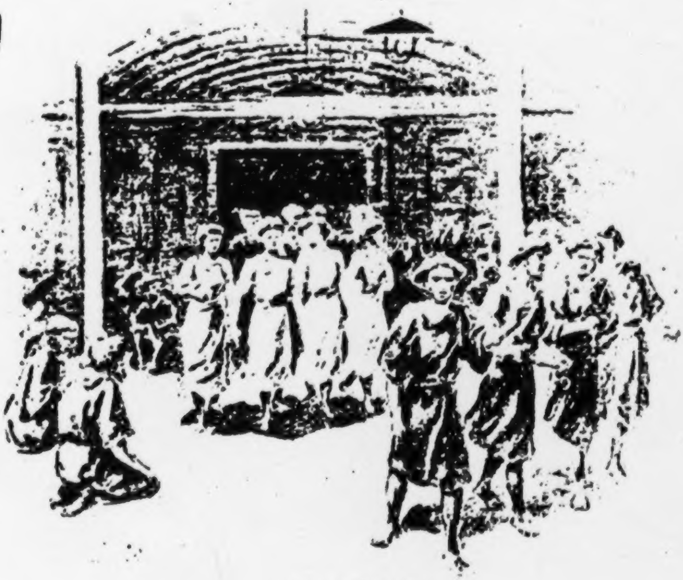


King George Tubou.

643 645 After we had shaken hands, Fatafehi announced in a stentorian voice that I had brought a little sandal-wood

796 ing nearly empty, but there was a look of eager expectancy on the faces of the few old people who lined the walls. 796 533 Then from without came the sound of singing in quartette, in perfect tune, swelling in volume as the choir reached the door. They filed in, forming fours as they passed the

[291]



The first choir.

doorway, men and women alternately, holding one another's hands. At the end of each phrase they took a step forward, and when they reached the reed pulpit their song merged into another in the far distance. It was the second choir: as their voices soared upward the first band became silent and scattered to their places along the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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781 calm he told us what a sinner he had been, and at each
783 disgraceful confession the audience shouted their applause.
Then with bated breath he told of his awakening; with suppressed emotion he described his inward tumult: words failed him; he caught his breath, he flung up his arms passionately, and after a silent struggle his voice rent the air in a hideous yell, "The Lord has got my soul!" He raved; he tore open his shirt as if he would pluck the heart out of him; and then, still raving, he flung himself on the ground in a frenzy of simulated sobs, and another took up the tale. It was a disgusting exhibition, but it was the success of the evening.

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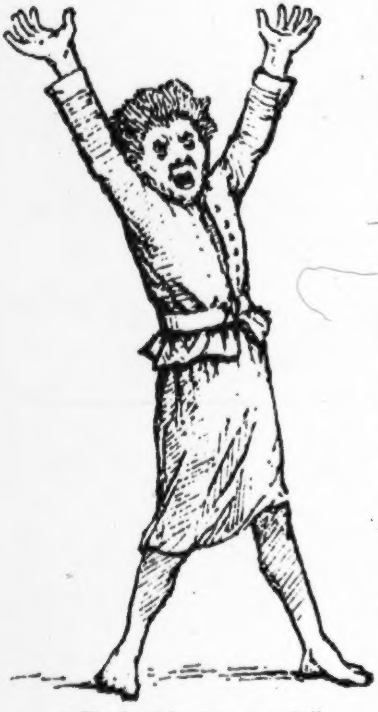
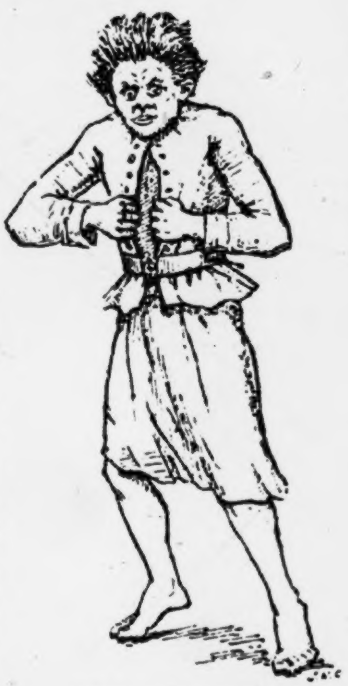


"The Lord has got my soul!"

The performance of the next penitent—a grey-haired and respectable man—was original, but it had been eclipsed. He said nothing: he simply stood and was shaken by sobs, while real tears ran through his fingers. After some minutes of this repentance in dumb-show he made a gesture of despair, and sat down amid loud acclamations.

There were some tame imitations of the three principal 781
performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the 783
excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. 645
He told them that he had come to the church that
evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had
landed on their shore with [291]
joy, thinking that he had [302]
come among old friends, but [516]
his joy had been turned
into sorrow. They were his
friends no longer — why?
He knew not, unless it was 645
because a distasteful office
had been forced upon him.
Did they think that he had
sought office? No! he was [643]
Premier by Tubou's command,
not by his own choice.
Out of his love for his king
he had undertaken work for
which he was unfitted, and
with God's help he would
carry it through. Many [181]
foolish things had been said
(was not Tonga the land of
lying reports?). It had even 645
been asserted that the independence of their country would 186
be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was
one man who would fight if the independence of the
country was endangered. That man was himself. But
was there a man present who would not fight? (Hitherto

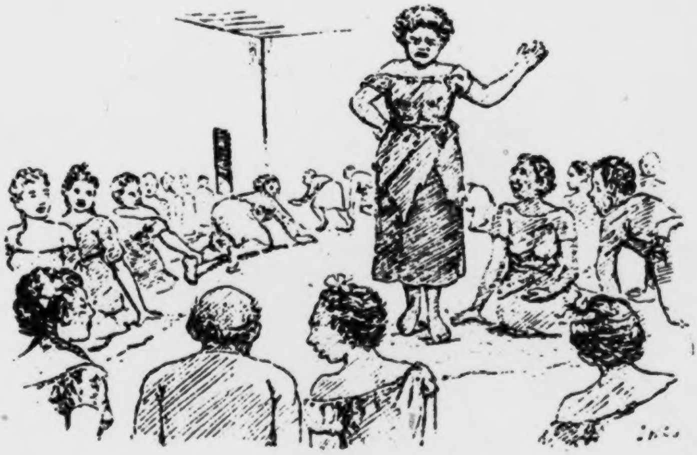


"He tore open his shirt."

motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose of tonic. 203 208

Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of omission rather than of commission. But not always. Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when 796 781 783

[291] [516] [302]



" *When Mary 'told her soul.'* "

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Sawana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to "tell her soul." A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

621 with hands lifted above their heads. They were of every
203 age—from the dressed-up monkey fresh from college, in
623 black coat, trousers, and bare feet, proud in the possession
645 of all human knowledge, to the grey-headed elder in the
[291] quiet dignity of the *vala* of native cloth. Tukuaho made a capital speech, denying emphatically the false reports that had been set about, and appealing to the patriotism of his hearers to get their taxes in and save their country from ruin. They must, he said, hold *fonos*, at which only those who were in arrears with their taxes should attend, and as each man completed his payments he should be relieved from further attendance. Then he called upon me for my maiden speech in Tongan, and I delivered myself of a string of platitudes about the independence of Tonga, and the desire of England to see her stand alone: that England did not want Tonga, having quite enough to do with the slice of the world she had already, to which Tonga was but a fly-blow on the map: that I had come at the king's request, not to meddle in their concerns, but to help them, and when they wanted help no longer I should go away. Then the spokesman fidgeted and asked leave to proffer a request. They were tired, he said, of talking to those who would not listen to them: would the Premier himself come and hold their *fono?* After some discussion it was settled that we should hold a *fono* in each of the three great divisions of the island.

578 News now came from Vavau that Mr Watkin and
797 Mr Baker's son and former private secretary had between them contrived to stir up a hornet's nest. The boy, with the secrecy of a conspirator, had been distributing leaflets and photographs of his celebrated father, and the minister

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

selves. The two Cabinet Ministers, Kubu, the Minister 645
of Police, and Josateki Tonga Veikune, the Paymaster,

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Asibeli Kubu, Minister of Police.

now appointed Auditor-General in his absence, had returned from their mission to Vavau and the Niuas to

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

645 announce the change of Ministry. We therefore summoned our first Cabinet Council.

[349] [643] [646] It was held in the Parliament House, a large wooden building furnished with pews and a long table. At one end was a faded crimson daïs surmounted with the royal arms: here the king sits when he opens Parliament. We took our seats round the table, Tukuaho, as President, sitting at one end, and Mataka, with his shorthand notebook, at the other. Let me describe my colleagues.

[142] Asibeli Kubu, the Minister of Police, is a short, dark little man of about thirty, with a stiff moustache, and [157] erect rebellious black hair. He is full of restless energy, impulsive and boyish, full of loyalty to Tukuaho, and of 645 devotion to his administration. His mother is Lavinia, 565 who would be Tui Tonga *fefine* if such dignities existed 554 nowadays; and his father is Inoke Fotu, a Judge of Vavau, a chief of the second rank. By his mother, therefore, 645 Kubu is a great chief. He began his official career as a Police Magistrate under the Baker *régime*, and got himself into sad disgrace by not convicting to order. Being a creature of impulse, and not endowed with calculating tact, our Minister of Police is safer under discipline than when left to his own judgment. To-day he is dressed in a suit of flannel pyjamas with *quasi*-military braid facings, his head is covered with an embroidered smoking-cap with a tassel, and his feet are bare.

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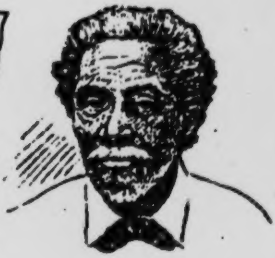

[291] *Sateki.*

Josateki, or Sateki as he is universally known, is a dif-

ferent stamp of man. A chief of the third rank in Vavau, 645
he was selected by Mr Baker as his Paymaster and Assistant [157]
Premier because of his implicit obedience to orders
and his power of silence. In person he is erect and slim, [142]
with grizzled hair and beard, and fine features deeply [302]
wrinkled. He lives only for his work: he is an official [157]
first and a man afterwards, a very rare quality for a native, to whom, as a rule, sustained purpose is unknown. We are not yet sure of Sateki. He is said to be hurt at my appointment as Assistant Premier, a post which, till now, he has nominally filled. If we once win him over we need not fear that he will desert us, but as he will not talk, and has never been known to laugh, he is difficult to conciliate.

The Lord Chief-Justice.

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Then there was Ahomëe (day of dancing), the Lord Chief-Justice, a white-haired old gentleman, one of the first converts, and a great pillar of the Church in days gone by, but now very deaf of ear and dull of understanding. The Minister of Finance, Junia Mafileo, the king's nephew, had not yet arrived, and Tukuaho, as President, "You are to attend your office every day," says Tungi, with emphasis. 645

Goschen springs to his feet in a state of frenzied emotion.

"I know," he cries, "I have not been to my office for a week. And why? Because I am alone in the world. You talk of work; well, I have been at work—my work is to fill my stomach" (he clutches the organ in question with both hands). His eyes roll, his false teeth shut with a snap, and he hisses over them, "I have no wife, no sons, no daughters. Who is to fill my stomach for me? Why," he cried, as the whole piteousness of the situation thrust itself upon him, "it's empty now. Order me to do what you will and I will do it, but only feed me." He sat down choked with his impassioned burst of eloquence. The Premier suggested that a convict should be told off to catch fish for the Minister, and dig his yams. This was a straw to the drowning financier. "Yes," he cried, "give me a prisoner, two prisoners, or even three to feed me, but I think that it will want four: feed me, and I will sit in my office all day." It was eventually decided that Goschen should attend his office on alternate days, and

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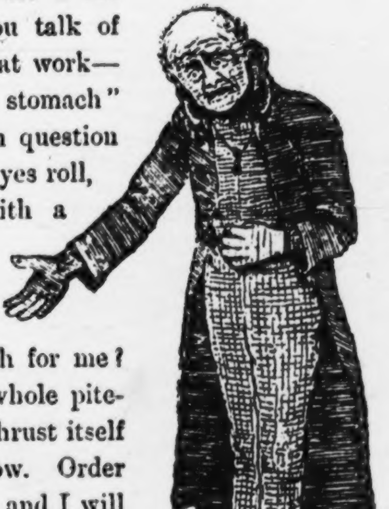

"Feed me, and I will sit in my office all day."

can lie down at night without having been entangled in 625
the meshes of Mr Baker's code by sins of omission or
commission. An ambitious *kateta* had only to note a hole 625 671
in the road, or a few dead leaves in the town square, or to peer through the transparent reed walls of a private house at illicit card-playing after ten o'clock curfew, to have ground for laying an information. If he wanted excitement, he might chase one of the numerous stray horses and pigs, and lead it in triumph to the pound; or, if all these failed, he need only lie in wait at dusk on the road leading to the plantations for some heedless wretch returning home with his shirt over his arm, to secure a conviction for indecent exposure of the person. If he had a taste for gossip—and what Tongan has not?—he might forestall his own *Inisipeketa* by hunting down a flirtation, and haling the delinquents

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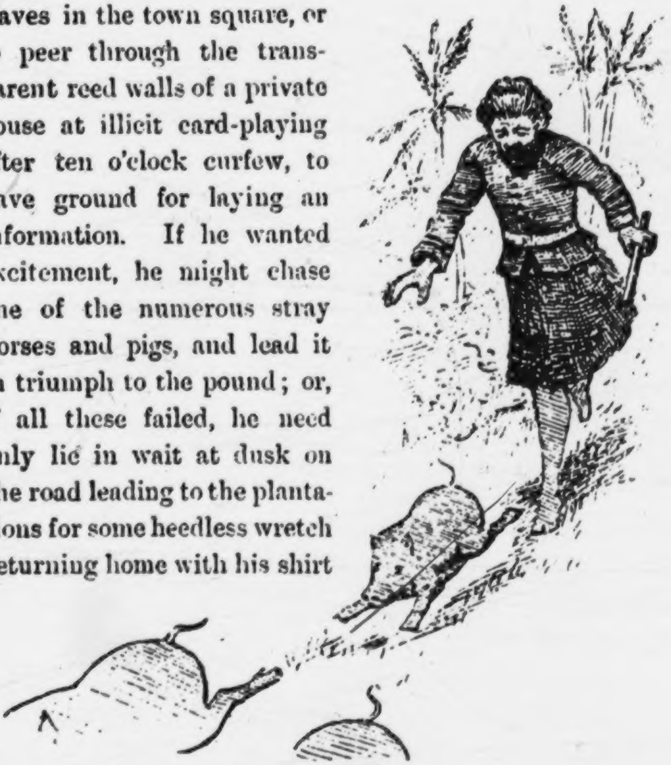

Promotion-hunting.

neck by a shoe-lace. Had Goschen been a less con- 652
scientious person, the business of the country could 645
have been continued even while he was providing for his appetite; but since no money could be paid out without the key of the safe, his frequent absences from the Treasury had called forth those remonstrances from his colleagues which I have already related. Now Goschen had a passion beyond the mere satisfaction of his grosser appetites. He was the professor of a dying art.

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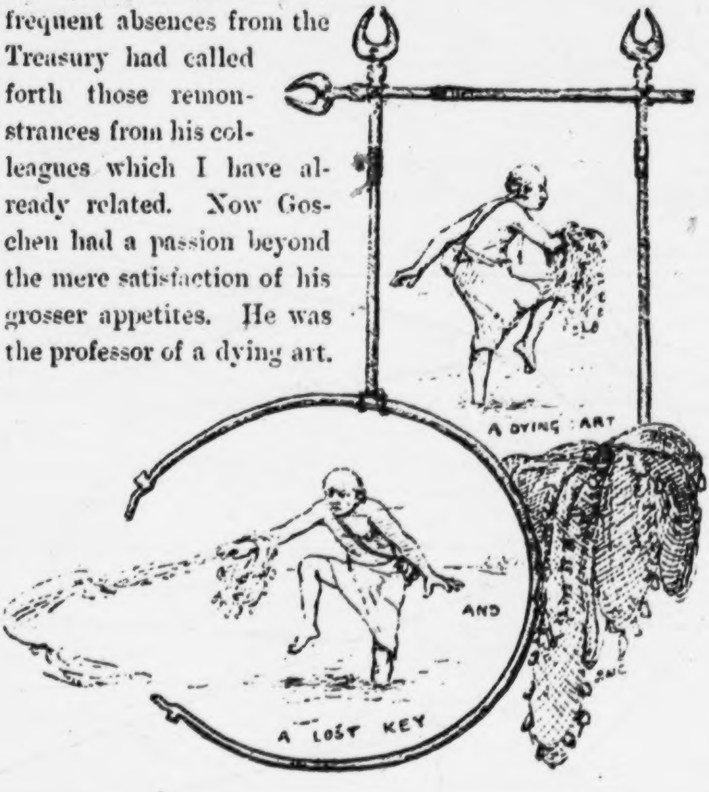

At low tide his lone figure might be seen at the outer 226
edge of the reef in sharp silhouette against the blue water, his *vala* girded up, his hand-net balanced on his forearm, lifting his skinny legs high, and sinking his feet into the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

he had given to the revenue collectors. The accused was 451
calm, collected, and perfectly respectful. He had with 651
him his books for the last three years, and he proceeded 652
to read them, pausing at intervals to take breath and to 687

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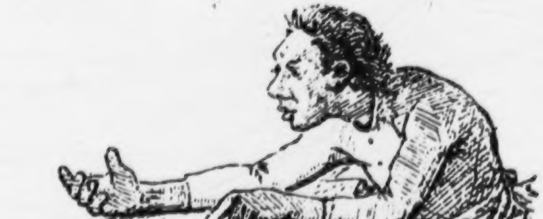

"He had with him his books for the last three years."

explain that, but for Mr Baker of execrable memory, the matter would be clear to a person of even Campbell's limited comprehension. Although his harangue had as much to do with the point at issue as it had with the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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651 turned to the left they were loyal subjects of King George, going to pay their just debts to his Government; if they took the straight road on they were traitors and renegades, who loved filthy lucre better than the honour of their country. I tried to guess from the drivers' faces which way they would turn. "Here," I thought, "is a loyalist." The mild-faced, semi-clerical-looking driver left the reins slack on the horse's neck: the cart creaked

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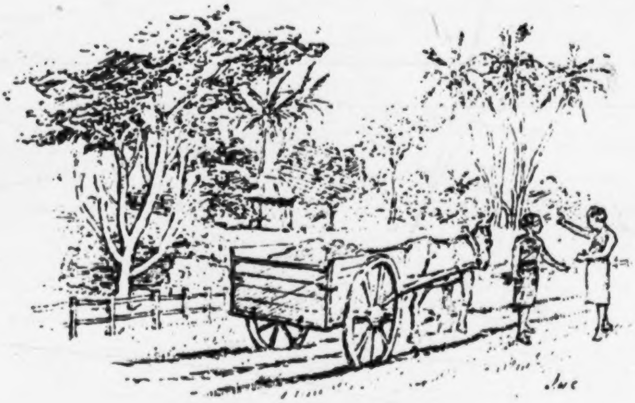
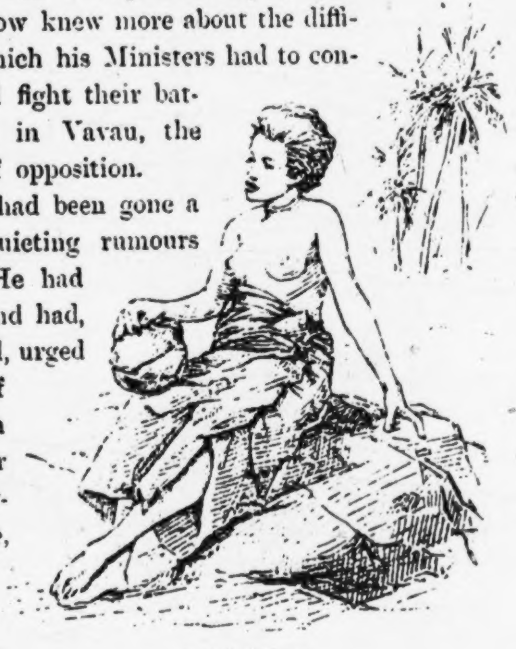


"There was an animated discussion."

onward. For one moment it seemed to pause as if about to turn off, but it was fancy: the horse did not leave the middle rut, and the driver was a traitor in loyalist clothing after all. Clumsily disguised though, for I used then to remember that he had a cunning expression about the mouth, for all his assumed benevolence. Once a long string of carts going towards the traders so exasperated me that I sent a servant to waylay the next comer, and to tell him to take his freight to the Government stores.

643 had stayed to water it, but this he would not consent to do. His church was still a-building in Vavau, and, unless he were there, the people would be wasting their time in selling oranges and copra. For a while he must do the work of God, after which he would return to his worldly duties. I was fain to acquiesce, hoping that as the king now knew more about the difficulties with which his Ministers had to contend, he would fight their battles
[142] for them in Vavau, the
[291] head centre of opposition.



A girl of Vavau.

[302] But ere he had been gone a
fortnight disquieting rumours
651 reached us. He had
[643] held a *fono*, and had, as he promised, urged the payment of taxes; but in defiance of our orders the Governor, Manase, had accepted these taxes in money. This was a breach of implied contract with the firm who had tendered for the tax-copra, and although they had taken advantage of Tukuaho's inexperience to obtain the contract, and had therefore little claim upon our consideration, I felt that we were morally bound by Tukuaho's word to refuse to accept money for taxes until after Dec-

14: Thomson G-3 . (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

563 should make them hold their hand until he neglected my
441 warning, and offended again.
689 One of our first acts on landing had been to pay our
634 official visit to the Governor, who had disobeyed and
645 defied us. One always forms a clear mental picture of a
798 person whose acts and utterances are familiar, and the
picture is generally ill-drawn. I had imagined this truculent Free Churchman as a self-sufficient middle-aged

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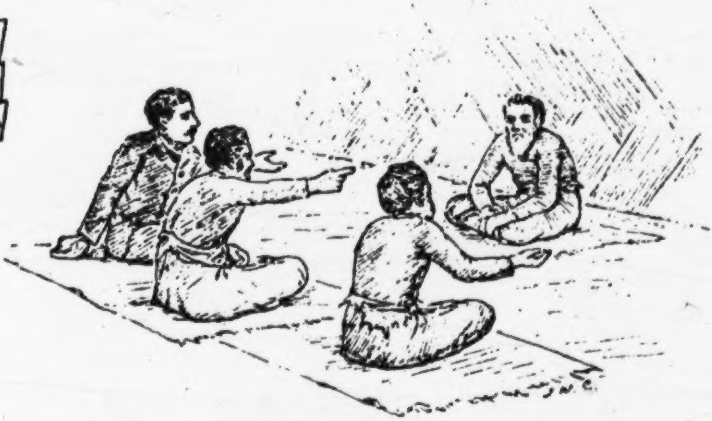

“*Manase took it all in silence.*”

Tongan of the blatant kind: I found him a mild-mannered old gentleman, endowed with an apostolic saintliness of feature and expression that must have disarmed my colleagues had they not known their man so well.
[551] Manase was a chief of the third rank in Vavau, who owed his elevation to his zeal in persecuting the Wesleyans and his willingness to second Mr Baker in questionable transactions. Hitherto I had supposed him to have some

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

But now that the missionaries are only called upon to 797 carry on the work founded by their predecessors, and know nothing of the danger their predecessors had to encounter, it is not astonishing that, among men recruited from a lower stratum of society and education, there should be some whose behaviour has detracted from the credit of the Missionary Society, and that these have been taken by hostile critics as types of the body of which they are members. The two main charges brought against the missionaries of to-day are that they give a first place to the collection of money, and that they have introduced and kept alive among the natives the unedifying spectacle of warring Churches. To the first charge it may be answered that no Church ever was or ever will be carried on without funds, and it is surely to the credit of a mission that they should have induced the people whom they benefit to support their Church and schools instead of leaving them to make appeals to philanthropists for funds to carry on their work. For the missions are not concerned only with the spiritual needs of the natives—they also do the great practical work of maintaining day-schools in every village. The missionaries themselves

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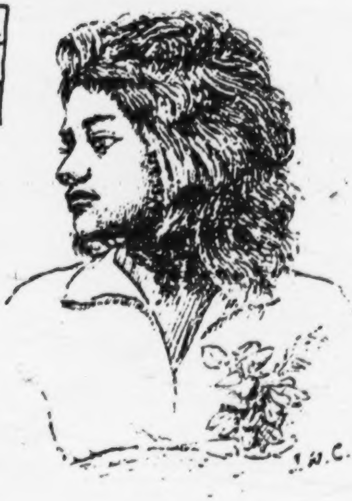

A Tongan schoolgirl.

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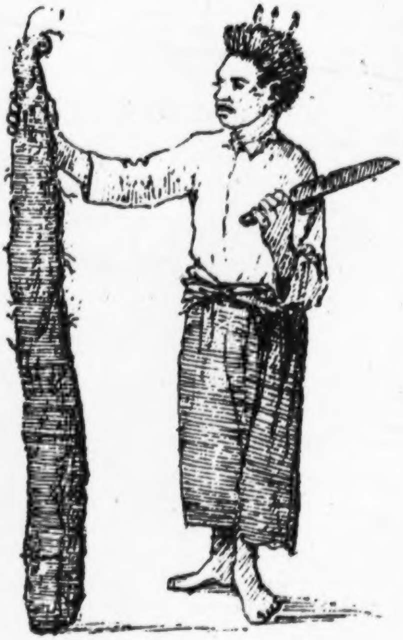
eating the yams, or destroying the produce of the land, the 671
owner of the hog shall be at once informed that he may shut 421
the hog up, and he shall restore whatsoever be damaged. If 231
the owner neglect to take
warning, either in con- 142
fining his hog, or in re- 291
compensing the damage 302
done, and the hog be 244
again found eating the 412
yams, it shall then be lawful to kill the hog, and the owner of the plantation shall have the carcase for his own.



A giant yam.

By the end of 1855 671
the original code had 797
been so tinkered by 177
the missionaries that little of the original remained. Their hand is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators:—

XXXVI. *The law relating to men.*—You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family as well as yourself, and in order to contribute to the cause of God and the chief of the land, and each man shall find a piece of land to cultivate. Any man who is not willing to work, shall not be fed nor assisted, all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants, and unprofitable to their friends.

645 resses had to be selected for the dining-table of the House.
646 Kubu invited me to form one of the committee charged
466 with the delicate duty of selecting a band of twenty from among the competitors. We took our seats at the long table in the hall, and sternly ordered the candidates to be brought before us. A clerk with the instruments of his trade sat beside us, to give an air of formality to the proceedings. "Two things are necessary," I heard it whispered; "they must be comely, and they must be intelligent. Who will eat if they be ugly? and stupid women will break the plates." Then from the door that led kitchenwards twenty damsels sidled in and sat down on the long
[516] form facing us. Some sucked their fingers in bashfulness; a few looked shyly defiant; the majority giggled. None of them looked as if they would break plates, but several fell short, very far short, of the first require-
[576] ment. One damsel in particular had been so harshly treated by Nature that I whispered my doubts to my

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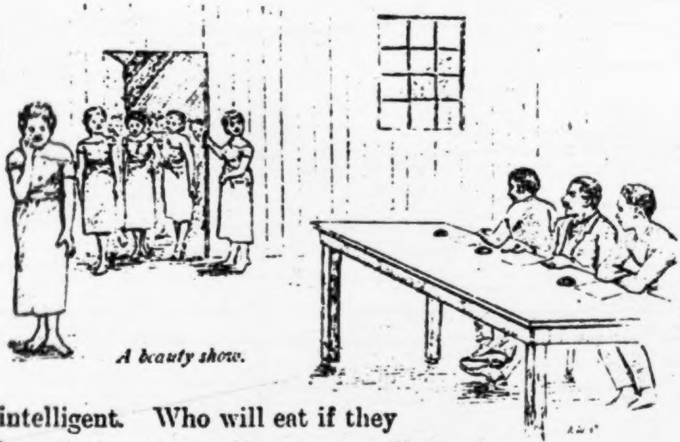

A beauty show.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 645 Speech had been copied out and submitted to the king; for several days we heard no more of it. Half afraid that our opponents would contrive to see it and endeavour to have it altered, at the last moment I insisted upon Tukuaho asking for it back. After some delay it was produced—in another handwriting as I expected. The passage about Mr Baker had been so altered as to convey an untrue and improper meaning. The handwriting was Sateki's, but he seems to have been merely the amanuensis. Rather than that it should stand in its present form, I took the Speech to the king. He was evidently expecting a remonstrance,

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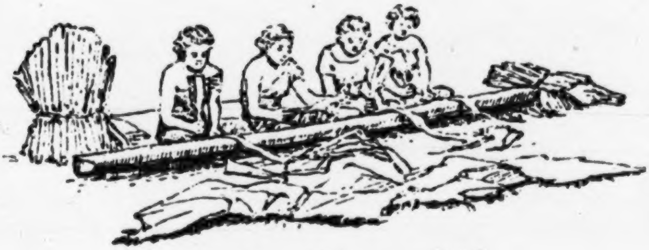

" *The faint tap of the* gatu *mallets.*"

and showed in his tone that he was on the defensive. "But why allude to the past?" I asked.

"Was it I who did so?" he said. Then apparently satisfied with having his advantage, he laughed, and readily allowed me to expunge the whole passage.

646 291 The great day dawned cloudless and drowsy. The hum of the fleecy breakers on the distant reef, the faint tap of the *gatu* mallets, vaguely suggested a reverie in a hammock and the unsubstantial folds of the *vala;* but native garments were to-day forbidden, for Parliaments in civilised

646 lands are not opened in bare legs save in the imagination
291 of Carlyle.

291 For days past the stores on the beach have done a spirited trade in trousers, coats, and shoes—not the sort of shoes that may be bought by the dozen at any bootmaker's, but majestic fabrics of leather, built expressly for the opening of South Sea Parliaments, upon a special last 14 inches long by 8 or 9 broad. Such shoes as these cannot be lightly used. And so the spiritual guides of the people, when teaching that no self-respecting Tongan should attend church without black coat and trousers, admitted the religious principle that a man might work out his salvation in bare feet, and the shoes were relegated to the meetings of Parliament.

646 [133] The scene outside is very picturesque. It is high tide, and the sea laps to the very edge of the short grass that carpets the approach to the white Parliament House. The tall spars of the Cordelia tower above the spires of the miniature palace. The College students, dressed in white, are drawn up in two lines, so as to form a lane from the palace to the doors. The band and guard of honour look undeniably smart, both in their bearing and
178 the polish of their accoutrements. It is a strange con-
646 trast with the same scene as it is described by Labil-
[175] lardière in 1791, exactly a century ago, when Mumui held his *faikava* on Sion Hill, now crowned with a church, but then with those twenty-four funny little huts into each of which a Cabinet Minister crawled to sleep off the effects of the Court bowl. Those were dark days before the *lotu* had illumined the minds of men, and most of the actors in to-day's scene, booted and be-trousered, full of the

strides into the room soberly clad, almost erect for all his 643
ninety years, the one dignified figure in all this motley 646
assembly of his subjects. A sovereign who wields
absolute power may well tire of pomp and circumstance
after his ninetieth year. He is followed by his aides-de- [644]
camp, George Finau, dressed in the uniform of a British [292]

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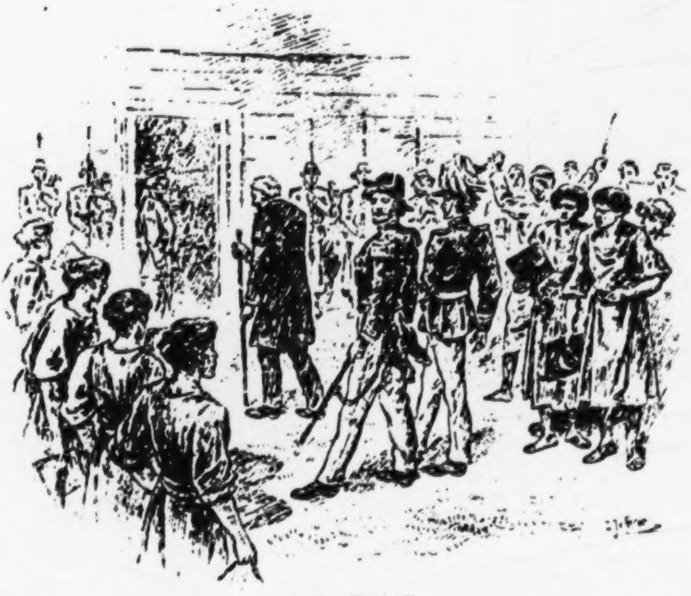

"*Koe Tu'i!*"

admiral, and Taufaahau in that of a colonel of the Colonial Defence Forces. As the king takes his seat Taufaahau steps forward and unrolls the Speech from the Throne. May I be acquitted of the charge of disrespect to a reigning monarch if I remark that King George Tubou II., when still Taufaahau and aide-de-camp to his great-grand-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

was to be seen. Sacrifice had been made on the altar of 646
the god Civilisation: Parliament was now to be opened 574
after the custom of their despised ancestors. Groups formed wherever a tree-top cast a patch of shade. Strings of men, swinging their limbs with the glorious freedom of trouserless man, filed up and flung their burdens of pig and yam upon an ever-increasing heap, while a claque of aged men shouted approval. Roast-pig scents the hot air. A grave and melancholy *matabule* is counting pigs in a monotonous chant, and each successive decimal evokes

Portrait of King George Tubou.

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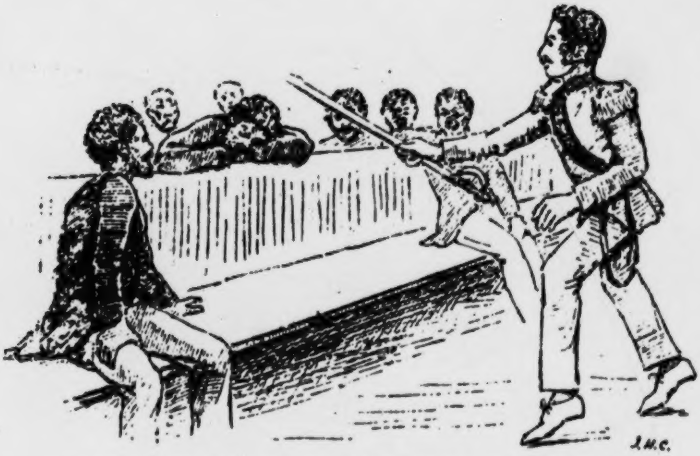
is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi 646 ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the 646 Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and 793 wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to [465] earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that has received the anxious attention [142] [291] of the Cabinet, to whom [302] a retrenchment of £100 a-year [533] is of importance. He gives out a hymn, the member for Vavau, who forms the choir, bellows the tune, while the rest follow him two octaves lower pianissimo. The House shades its eyes with its hand, while the prelate wrestles in prayer and discreetly withdraws. There is a pause. Then Mataka, the chief clerk 646 (who, by the way, is still supposed to be undergoing imprisonment for flirting with the fair Lobase), calls the roll. The new members are now to take the oath. The ceremony is imposing 646 until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members 795 arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant 798 Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible 779 translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and 646

The clerk of the Parliament.

645 follows it is borne in upon me that *faiako* has the
646 restrictive meaning of professor, and that Mr H——'s
875 enemies have put it abroad that he is a mere schoolmaster and no professor. I am able to reassure the House on this point with a clear conscience, on the authority of no less a personage than the Minister of Education of New Zealand.

646 By the time the Address had been despatched to the king by the hands of the chief clerk the wooden drum had begun to beat. Aged Nobles, whose eyes had been getting dim, and whose heads had fallen forwards, started and straightway threw off twenty years of their burden of life. The whole House fixed its gaze upon the clock. It was the dinner-hour, and the Speaker, with an indulgent smile, adjourned the House. A stream of black-coated legislators hobbled to a long white building a few yards away, and besieged the doors as if it were the pit entrance to a theatre. A bolt was drawn, and both Houses surged inwards. There were two long tables, each accommodating forty guests,—the one reserved for the Lords, and
646 the other for the Commons. The ministering damsels
264 were ordered to appear in a white uniform, without lace
● 291 or other ornaments. They had treated the order with the scorn it deserved. The ox-eyed Sau, breathing propriety with every sigh, was dressed in white satin trimmed with furniture lace, and had a crimson sash tied coquettishly round her waist; the demure Vika—demure only in the presence of her elders—had broken out in bugles of jet and a cincture of native cloth. The trader who supplied her striped *vala* would be sold out of that pattern on the morrow, for the fashion in Tonga is set by the pretty girls.

a book. It is the book of the Sleeping. I have since heard Hoho, the Roman Catholic member, declare that the insertion of his name was a malicious libel. His *lotu*, he said, obliged him to pray at noon, and to pray he had to close his eyes. The clerk retorted that if he could not begin his prayers with a hymn, as is the usage of any respectable sect, his name must be recorded in the book. After-experience taught us that the morning was more suitable for Committees, and the afternoon for third readings, for during a third reading even the Sergeant-at-Arms would close his eyes. The monotonous reading of the Premier has long ago lulled the most active of the Opposition to sleep. When the voice becomes silent the Speaker thunders out the question, eyelids tremble open, and hands go up. "Those who are against the motion will hold up their hands," but the eyelids have all closed again, and the



"*The Sergeant-at-Arms creeps stealthily towards the Lords.*"

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

645 as I were overcome with emotion. It was hard to part 646 with men who had been such staunch comrades in a hard fight, knowing that in the ordinary course of the world I should never see them again.

The king's band had meanwhile assembled outside the House, struck up a march as we came out, and I found myself the centre of a procession led by the band, and followed by all the members of Parliament. The third whistle had long sounded, and the steamer began to cast off as I said my last good-bye. The propeller churned the sleepy water into foam, we glided seawards, and in a few moments the faces became indistinct, and faded into a confusion of waving draperies,—fainter and fainter, till the low shore grew grey and woolly, merged into a cloud-bank, and disappeared. We were alone in the Pacific, bound for the great world, and all the brief turmoil of Tonga and its turgid politics slid into a pleasant memory as unreal as the clouds that hung over the spot on the horizon where it had vanished.

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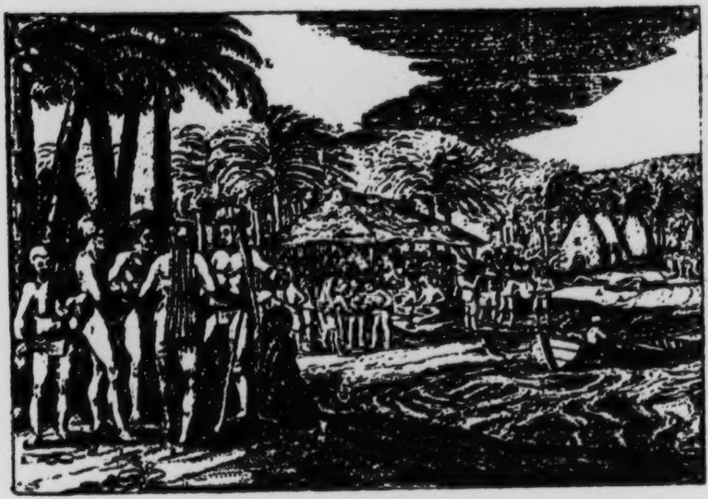
and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was 175
learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with 177
safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a 609
rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo



[291] [301] [302] [342] [622] [344] [276] [142] [137] [516]

Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, showing ancient mode of wearing the hair. Vide Appendix II. ^A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that 175
the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided 177 361
by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood [311]

A /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--
^ Analyst/

still hope he humbled himself before the deities he had 175
slighted, and implored them to visit his sins on his own 634
head rather than upon hers; but the inspired priest 776
answered that her death was required as an atonement for 793
his continued neglect, and that a severer punishment was in store for him. As soon as the first paroxysms of grief were passed he determined on the most impious revenge he could devise—namely, to kill the priest of his god, Tubou Toutai. He had actually sent for a rope with which to bind him when he was seized with sudden illness. It was in vain that one of his children was strangled to appease the gods: in twenty-four hours he was dead. But the evil he had wrought in Tonga could not end with his life. He had found his country in peace and plenty, he left it torn by famine and civil war, having in his short life caused more bloodshed and human suffering than the aggregate in the whole of Tongan history before his time. A contemporary writer thus sums up his character: "A char-

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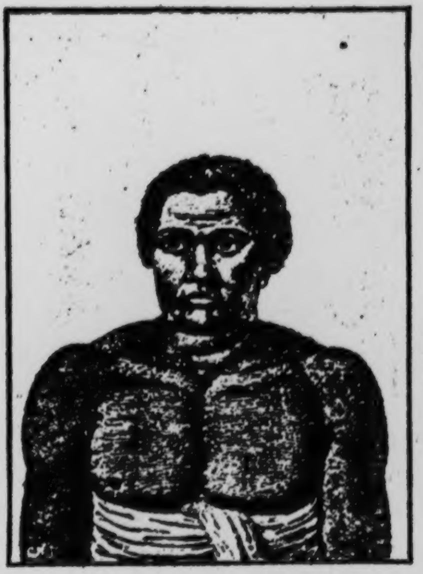

[782]

Finau Ulukalala, the rebel, after Labillardière.
(From an engraving in the British Museum.)

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175 thusiasm. They had scarcely to ask for contributions—
797 the emulation among their congregations filled the mission
oil-tanks—and they, too, began to be astonished at their
[645] own moderation. As the king's advisers they now began
[177 to dabble in politics. They designed a Royal Standard
[178 with doves and crossed swords, and other un-Polynesian
[291] devices; they ordered a Crown and a Great Seal; they
[714] taught the officers of State to pace the beach in English military uniforms; they encouraged the women to disfigure themselves with bonnets and European dress. They had laboured hard, and if they now complacently accepted the blind adoration of their flock, it was but human nature.

But there was one among the new converts who was less blind than his teachers. One of the missionaries was leaving the group, and the villages for miles round assembled to take leave of him. A vast pile of mats, cloth, and other native property was heaped up before the smiling clergyman: the excitement was hysterical. Tungi, the latest convert, was curiously watching the scene with a companion by his side. "Uiliame," he said, "do you remember how they treated Mr—— when he came, how they stole his things and insulted him, and do you see them now? They are dying of love for him, Uiliame; yet I think that you and I will live to see the time when their love will be turned into hate. This will not last for long, Uiliame; their minds are too hot." Uiliame remembered these words twenty years later, when he saw an angry crowd assembled outside the mission-house demanding the bodies of the native Wesleyans who had taken refuge there, and he told the story as a proof of

[1616]

When at about half a musket-shot's distance from them our 175
men fired four times at them. Some jumped into the water, 177
one of them with a small child. We hauled one out of the
water, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his back,
but not very deep, for it was hail-shot. In our vessel we secured
two men who had overstayed on board the canoe, they not once
resisting, for in truth they had no arms. One was an old and
grey man, the other was a youth.

Presently the shallop rowed to fetch those that leapt overboard to save their lives; but they got only two of them that drove upon one of their oars, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much as to say that the rest were drowned.

In the canoe were eight women with three young sucking [501]
children, and some were about ten years old, so that altogether
there may have been about twenty-five people in the canoe.

Towards evening we put the men aboard again, and they were
much welcomed by their women. We gave them some beads,
which they hung about their necks, and some knives. And to
us they presented two fine mats and two cocoa-nuts, which were
all they had to eat and drink. In fact they had drunk all the
water of the nuts, so that there remained nothing more to them
to drink. We saw them drink salt water out of the sea, and
give it also to their young children to drink, which we thought
to be against nature. They were reddish people, and had [142]
certain clothes of a yellowish colour which they wore before [291]
their persons. They were smeared with oil, and the women had [302]
all short hair, like the men in Holland. The men's hair was
long and frizzed, and very black.

Their vessel was fashioned as shown in the drawing—very 175
remarkable to see—and consisted of two long canoes covered 501
by a good broad table. Along each canoe were laid two wide
planks, about the midship portion, to keep out the water; and
at either end timbers were laid crosswise from the one hull to
the other, securely lashed, and the ends were also decked over
in a watertight fashion. [Further description of mast and steer- 175
177

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried 175
to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been 177
well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly desirous [181]
of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They [141]
were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. [291]
Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied [302]
up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island [481]
lies in lat. 16° 10′. [131]

On the 12*th*, in the morning, trading was reopened. We
bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some
water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and
every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent [136]
a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the afternoon 175
the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned 177
as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was accompanied 622
by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was
called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums [534]
and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen
or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who [609]
accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13*th*.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an
armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to
trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the [501]
former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great 175
force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began 177 622

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[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title *Ratu*. 609

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hostages
177 on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[181] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[342] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts
along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and
12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of
the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony.
Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and
were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

Summary as to the Plates reproduced in the Text.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea,
off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just
out of sight to their S.W.

[501] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they
sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to
[131] reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands:
lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the
natives. The chief's name was *Latou.*

175 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several subjects
177 described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs
291 are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are in-
301 troduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of head-
302 dress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the
342 drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside
344 of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are
622 making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once.
276 The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as
609 types of dwellings.
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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1616]

Explanation of Plate on p. 311.

609 175 177

A. Meeting of the two chiefs, welcoming one another with remarkable ceremony. [622]

B. The same two chiefs sitting in state together on two mats under a thatched shed. [316] [344]

C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the chiefs, from which they derived great satisfaction (or took as a great compliment).

D. Commoners chewing a green root called by them kava. When it is chewed up water is added to it, and thus a drink is made from it, which is greatly esteemed by them. [276]

E. Shows the fashion of the houses. They are round and pointed, and covered with thatch. [342] [291]

F. Shows the costume of a chief, and coiffure. [301]

G G. Shows the plaits of hair worn by chiefs. [302] [622]

H. Shows an instance of frizzed hair. [142]

I. Another, whose hair stands up stiff like the bristles of a pig, more than a quarter of an ell long. [302]

K. Shows how the women wear their hair cut short. [302]

L. Are cocoa-nut palms. [137]

[APPENDIX III.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

carried in piecemeal or the palace built round it. 344
It belonged to the period when the Germans [648]
acquired their coaling-station and Mr. Baker was
decorated with the Red Eagle of Prussia. There
are four large rooms on the upper floor, three of
them furnished in European style, and the fourth
used as a lumber-room for the toys and litter
which Polynesian chiefs buy so readily and tire
of so quickly. We found Her Majesty in the 644
best bedroom, which is furnished with a four-post [352]
bed and Brussels carpet. Everything was immaculately clean, and there was nothing to show
that the room did not belong to an European
lady. The queen wore a pink silk wrapper, and [291]
was sitting in a low chair with her brown baby
on her knee. Her illness, which at one time had
caused great anxiety, accounted for her pallor
and her delicate appearance. Though she is not [576]
handsome, her slenderness and her delicacy of
feature give her a certain air of distinction, and,
like all Tongan women of good family, she has
pretty manners. Having made my christening [648]
present and kissed the baby, I took my leave.
During the queen's illness Dr. Maclennan had 644
a busy time, for, though the king has an implicit 757
belief in European treatment, the old ladies 759
about the court insist upon administering nos-

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

OU9 Tonga OU9

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A TONGAN GIRL

[facing p. 178]

To face page 178

826 sesses all these perfections will be esteemed chief-
like and elegant, and her nose will not matter,
though, if she have that organ flat to the face,
she will be painting the lily. There chanced to
be an illustrated paper on the table, and when we
showed them the wasp-waisted ladies in the
fashion plates they chuckled with amusement and
826 derision. The king, whom I afterwards asked
517 for a definition of female beauty, confirmed all
they said, and added a philosophical explanation
of his own. He said that the human eye de-
manded a sufficiency in the things presented to
it; if they were insufficient, it found them ugly.
826 The Tongan dress did not conceal the form as
[291] does the European; consequently Tongan ladies
were expected to be satisfying in respect of the
portions of their anatomy that are exposed to
826 view. We may be content with a simpler ex-
565 planation. In days gone by the chief women got
more to eat than their inferiors, and *embonpoint*
became a chiefly attribute. This mark of high
birth being once stereotyped, men chose their
wives accordingly, and the Tongan dames will
grow stouter with every generation. It is not
a pleasing prospect.

648 At one stage in our negotiations the king
643 began to develop a remarkable capacity for

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

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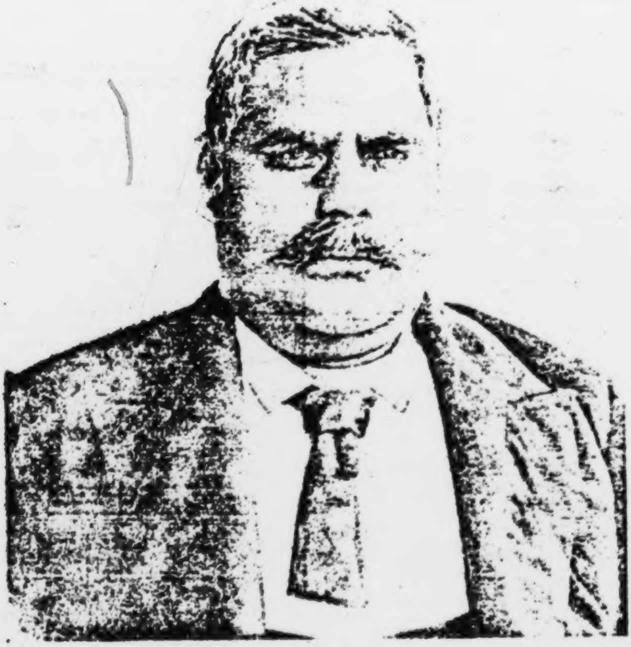


J. MATEIALONA

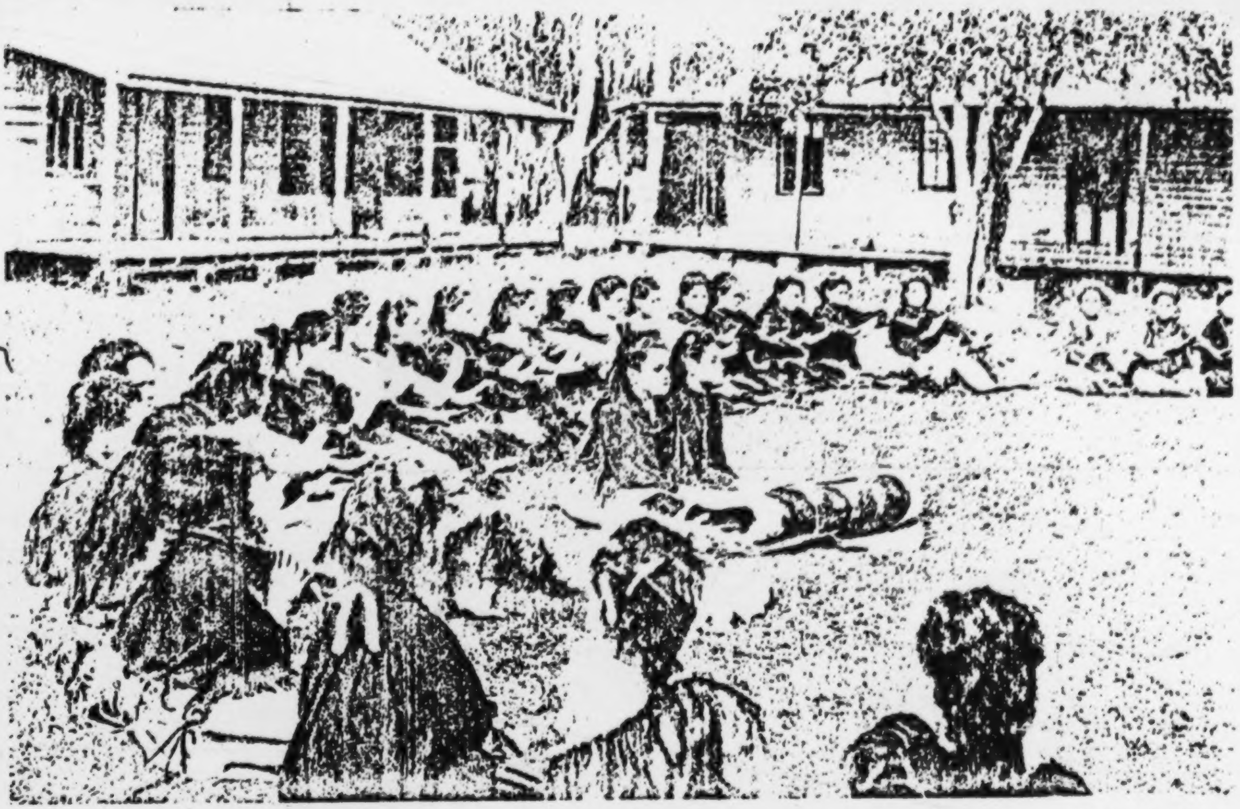
COUSIN OF THE KING AND GOVERNOR OF HAAPAI

To face page 212

[facing p. 212]

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

[facing p.222]



From a photograph by *J. Martin, Auckland*

THE OTUHAKA

The two drummers sit in the middle of the semicircle

To face page 222

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Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in 276
pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be
relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan 276
school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact 829
that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission
to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate
with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has 177
been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is 177
one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken
that it became necessary some decades ago to pass 526
laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of
the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some 541
remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years 226
ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive 178
for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance
in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to [439]
buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.
177

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new 296
feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and [462]
washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable.
Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the 291
enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts [656]
in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular
cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes
are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, 625
blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat. 292

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about 291
the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper
length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and
ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas
are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively 186
of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like
cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians [514]
because they have no water closets, which in Tonga [656]
are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on 264
mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

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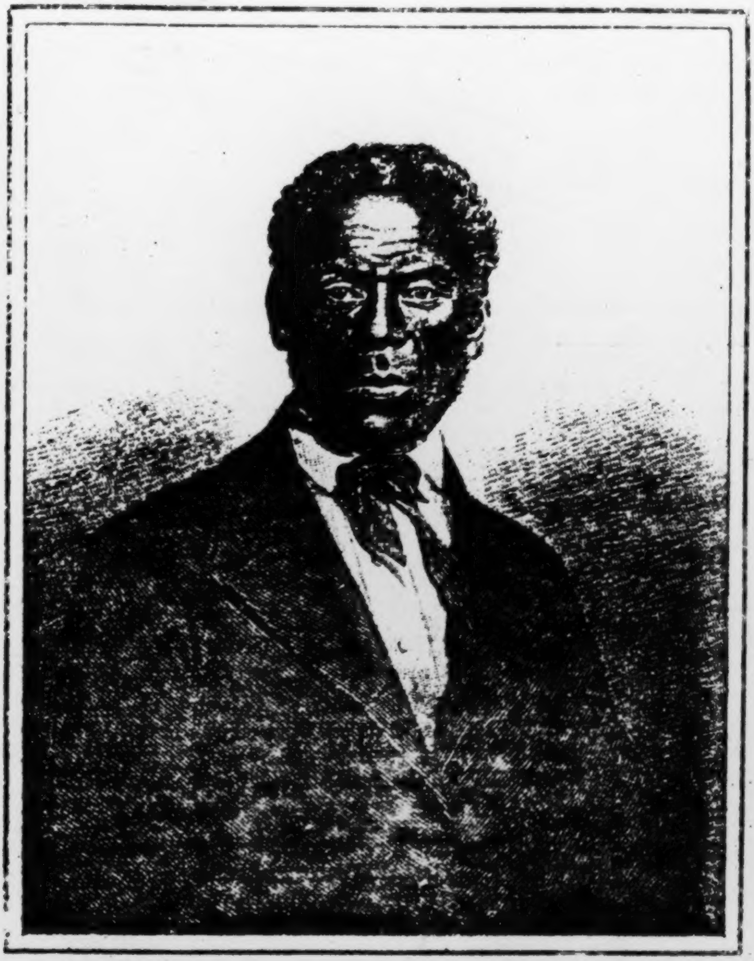

GEORGE TUBOU,

King of the Friendly Islands.

[facing p. iii]

Engraved by J. Cochran, Esq. from an Original Portrait.

yards of its edge. When we again went on deck, the whole scene was changed as if by some mighty enchantment. 133

The sea was now smooth. The ship's course lay through deep channels formed by numerous ledges of coral reef, over which breakers dashed with the noise of thunder. In these narrow channels the brig had to be tacked several times. The operation was by no means unaccompanied with danger. A slight error in the steerage, a lull of the breeze, or missing stays, as was not improbable with such a dull craft under hand, and we should instantly have been swept upon the edge of the perpendicular reefs, between which the tidal current rolled along at the rate of four miles an hour, and in some places with even greater rapidity. All, however, went well, and just before reaching the most intricate part of the passage a canoe was seen coming from the shore. It lay so low upon the water as to be scarcely discernible. Conscious of this fact, the sole occupant of the tiny vehicle occasionally flourished his paddle in the air to attract attention. Believing him to be a native pilot, a short tack was made to give him time to overtake us; and a few minutes sufficed to bring the canoe alongside. We looked for the first time upon a Friendly Islander, and assuredly the impressions we received were by no means favourable. The man was almost naked. The only article of attire he wore was a thick covering of plaited leaves thrown round his loins; and dripping as he was with water, he really looked as if he had just been floated up from some ocean cavern. Although an old man, he was remarkably nimble in all his movements. A narrow band of native cloth was bound

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royal line had to be retrieved; and the permanent 643
peace of the country could only be secured by the 669
bold suppression of upstart claimants to power. To accomplish these purposes, the youthful chief addressed himself with impetuous valour and daring. Possessed of great prudence and undaunted courage, accompanied by a physical strength before which all his antagonists quailed, he speedily multiplied his partisans, and gained immense influence. His name, or presence, was a host in itself in every battle, and none of his opponents could long withstand him. There are but few of the old chiefs, now living, who have not measured their strength with his in war, and been made to bite the dust; but all his conquests were accompanied by a liberal and magnanimous policy toward his enemies; so that he laid the foundation of his government not only in the fear but in the affection of his Chiefs and people.

Such were some of the antecedents of the Christian 643
king, whose return in state from Vavau we had the pleasure of witnessing, as already described, and whose personal congratulations and good wishes, upon our safe and timely arrival, went far to knit our hearts, more firmly, to the sacred Missionary work, for which we had come to these "uttermost parts" of the earth.

The day after our interview was the holy Sabbath. 643
Never before had we spent such a blessed 797
Sabbath. Nukualofa chapel was densely crowded. 794
The king and queen, and a large number of the principal chiefs of the land, were there. We felt considerable disappointment, in one respect, at
the sight before us. With the exception of their [177]
majesties and about ten other persons, no articles [291]

643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
797 people. It was evident that very little advance
794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
[177] habits of the country. We were almost over-
[291] powered, also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
with which most of the worshippers were plenti-
[302] fully anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
great disgust. But notwithstanding this drawback
to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
there." The responses during prayer were united
[796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
with profound attention. At the close of the dis-
course, Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
called upon the king to pray. This he did with
[782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
[781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
large congregation. We understood very little of
the language; yet we felt that there was here no
hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and
unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest
religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson, at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore prepared to advance another stage on our long voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa and the neighbourhood, in observing the native habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more simple elements of the language, prepared us to face once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea life. Our final destination was now only about

ing merrily, and shouts of triumph rent the air, to 798
the great dismay of the enemy in Bea, who had 669
received intelligence of the fall of Houma. The 728
loyal troops were drawn up in two long lines, extending from the spot where the king and his chief men were seated, to the road by which the Houman chiefs were expected to approach.

At mid-day, Vaca and Fohe, accompanied by several younger chiefs, approached the king. They [291]
were clothed in old mats and tattered garments, [301]
with the usual garlands of *ifi* leaves round their necks, expressive of deep humiliation, and of expected punishment. They walked slowly along [516]
between the lines of armed men, in charge of a guard; but, when within a short distance of the king, they seemed overpowered by their fears, and placed themselves in the most submissive attitude, with hands clasped before them, and heads bent down toward the ground. Notwithstanding the promise of safety which they had received, they appeared to expect that the signal for death might be given at any moment. In the midst, however, of profound silence, the king's herald proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the prisoners should put off the *ifi* leaves from their necks, that being the signal that they had obtained mercy. *Kava* was then prepared, and the rebel [276]
chiefs were commanded to assume their accustomed place of rank in the circle of chiefs. This was an additional and most unexpected evidence of the king's clemency. That their lives should have been spared was a great boon; but that their rank should be continued was more than they could have expected, or could have felt that they deserved.

After the ceremony was over, the king ordered

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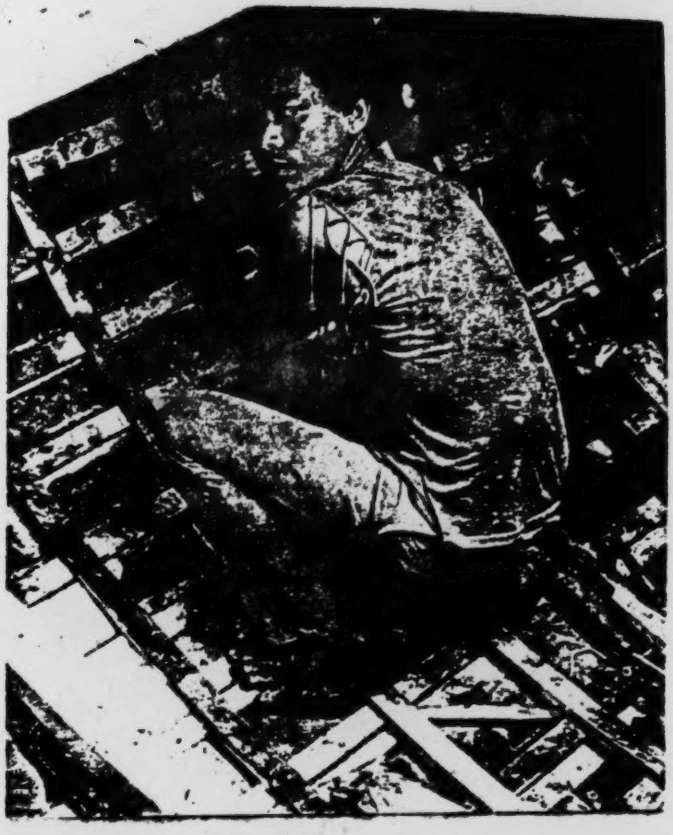

A life in harmony with the sea demands the mastery of boat-related skills. This young seaman named Mataele repairs a boat in Ha'ano, an island in Ha'apai which still depends mainly on small boat transportation for communication with the rest of Tonga and with the world.

'Oku mahu'inga foki 'i he mo'ui ki tahi 'a e poto 'i he ngaahi me'a fekau'aki mo e folau. Ko e ki'i talavou eni ko Mataele 'oku ne monomono ha vaka 'i Ha'ano, 'a e motu ko ia 'i he 'otu Ha'apai.

[p.5-c]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Eyes sparkling with pride, each of these ladies of the Foa Handicraft Co-op in Ha'apai displays her own hand-crafted piece of tapa cloth. The local co-op was formed recently with the aid of a Peace Corps Volunteer. [648]

'Oku mahino mei he fofonga malimali 'o e kau fefine ni 'a 'enau takitaha laukau'aki 'a 'ene konga ngatu. Ko e kau fefine 'eni mei he kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki 'i Foa, Ha'apai. Na'e kamata e kautaha ni 'e ha toko taha ngaue 'ofa mei 'Amelika (Peace Corps).

Mat weaving is a very important part of life in Tonga today. In addition to being used everyday for floor covering 285
and bedding, mats are also traditionally presented on all special occasions (e.g. weddings, births, funerals). Most 352
weaving materials come from a variety of species of the pandanus plant. In the photo at right, Halamehi Tu'imana 431
skillfully weaves an edging into her newly-woven *lotaha* (single thickness) mat in Ha'atu'a, 'Eua. 142

'Oku kei fai lahi e lalanga 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. 'Oku ngaue'aki foki e fala ke faliki 'aki ha fale, pea hoko foki 291
ko e me'a'ofa 'i he taimi 'oku fai ai ha mali, fa'ele pe ko ha putu. Ko e ngaahi lou'akau kehekehe 'oku fai 'aki e
lalanga. 'Oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u 'a Halamehi Tu'imana 'oku fai 'ene lalanga lotaha 'i Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

287] Tapa making, one of the traditional arts of Tonga, is widely practiced today. Step (1) involves stripping the paper mulberry tree (photo at top left: Milika Fatai, Kolomotu'a) to reach the inner bark. (2) Strips of the soft inner bark are then soaked and pounded to be stretched (photo at bottom left: Kilisitina Fihaki and Luseane Hafoka, 'Eua). The mellow tap-tap-tapping of mallets beating tapa is quite a common sound in villages. (3) Natural dyes are made of juice from the *koka, tongo* (mangrove), or *tuitui* (candlenut) tree. Below, ladies at Halamangaono in Vava'u twist a sleeve of *koka* bark shavings to extract the brownish dye, which drips into the bowl under it. [386 824]

'Oku kei lahi 'aupito 'i Tonga 'a e koka'anga pea mo e ngaahi ngaue kehekehe fekau'aki mo ia. (1) Ko hono hae eni 'o e hiapo 'e Milika Fatai (ta 'i to'ohema ki 'olunga) mei Kolomotu'a. (2) Ko e tutu eni 'a Kilisitina Fihaki pea mo Luseane Hafoka (ta 'i to'ohema ki lalo) mei 'Eua. (3) Ko ha kau fine'eiki eni mei he kolo ko Halamangaono 'i Leimatu'a, Vava'u, 'oku fai 'enau taukoka (ta 'i lalo).

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[p.23]

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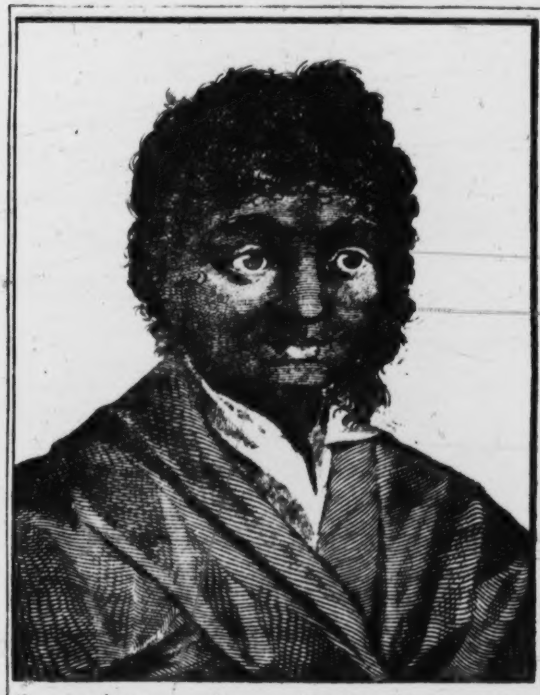

Portrait of OTAGO, or Attago, a Chief at AMSTERDAM.

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[103]

One of the chiefs of Tongatapu (or "Amsterdam," as it was called by Tasman in 1643), who became a friend of Captain Cook's and who exchanged hogs, fruit and fowls for red cloth, nails and clothing in the usual manner of islander-explorer trade relations.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o ha 'eiki Tonga na'e fa'ofo'ofani mo Kapiteni Kuki. Na'e foaki ange 'e he 'eiki ni ha me'a tokoni, pea 'oange ki ai 'e Kuki ha konga tupenu kula, fa'o, ngeahi toki ukamea pea mo ha 'u vala.

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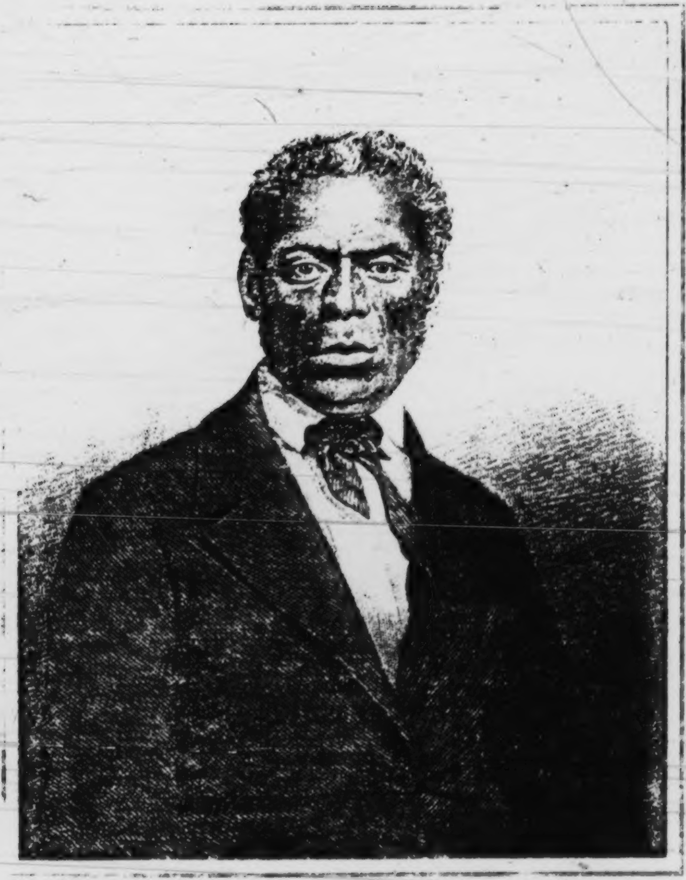

King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I, the "leader of modern Tonga," was a wise and far sighted ruler. Among the most noteworthy accomplishments of his reign 845-1893) was the establishment of a representative government and a Parliament, a workable land system, and a Constitution for Tonga. [642]

Ko e tu'i poto mo 'atamai mataotao mo'oni 'a Siaosi Tupou I. 'I he 'ene kei 'i he taloni, na'a ne fokotu'u ha pule'anga 'oku kau ki ai e kau fakafofonga kehekehe pea mo e Fale Alea, kae'uma'a foki 'a hono tufotufa 'o e kelekele, pea mo hono fokotu'u 'o e Konisitutone.

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[P.58-C]

[Caption is on P.59]

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[296] The way of life is one of the most cherished and attractive aspects of Tonga. Among some very common sights are--laundry being done on a wash board (*at left:* Lata Fanua, Nuku'alofa), and a young person finding pleasure in a ukulele (*above:* Tevita Me'e, 'Eua).

'Oku ma'u 'e he Tonga ha fa'ahinga mo'ui fiefia 'a ia 'oku faka'amu ki ai e fa'ahinga muli tokolahi. *Ta 'i to'ohema:* Ko Lata Fanua mei Nuku'alofa 'oku fai 'ene fo. *Ta 'i 'olunga:* Ko Tevita Me'e mei 'Eua 'oku fai 'ene ta 'ukulele.

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Tongans' love for children is as basic to them and to their philosophy of life as are their smiles. Here, Maile Tongilava holds her great-nephew, Sione Kelemeni, in Nuku'alofa.

Oku 'ofa mo'oni e kau Tonga 'i he tamaiki valevale, 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta ko eni 'i Nuku'alofa 'o e fefine fofonga malimali ko Maile Tongilava 'oku ne fua hono ki'i mokopuna ko Sione Kelemeni

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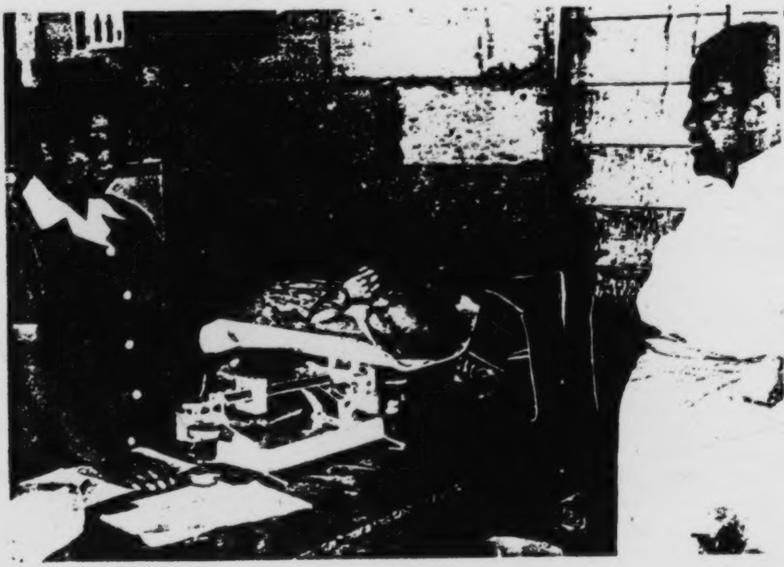
Attractive Post Office employee, Losaline Kaho *(above)*, sells Tongan stamps, which are noted internationally for
their ingenious designs. Postage for a first-class letter within the Kingdom costs one Tongan cent. The sleek and
modern Post Office *(at right)* in Nuku'alofa disperses mail to smaller Post Office branches throughout the Tonga
Islands.

[344]

Ko e ki'i finemui talavou eni ko Losaline Kaho *(ta 'i 'olunga)* 'oku ngaue 'i he Posi 'Ofisi. 'Oku 'iloa foki 'i mama
e sitapa Tonga koe'uhi ko 'ene faka'ofo'ofa. 'Oku seniti pe 'e taha e meili fakalotofonua. 'Oku ha 'i to'omata'u 'a e
ta 'o e Positi 'Ofisi fo'ou 'i Nuku'alofa, 'a ia 'oku fai mei ai hono tufa 'o e meili ki he ngaahi Positi 'Ofisi iiki ange
he ngaahi 'otu motu kehekehe 'i Tonga.



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Medical service is free in Tonga. Modern medicine is thriving, and there are hospitals on all the main islands. Outreach clinics are also held periodically in villages, such as this photo (above) of a student nurse, Susitina 'Ofa, running a well-baby clinic in Kolomotu'a. Meanwhile, Tongan folk medicine is still practiced widely. In the photo at right, 'Ana Koka obtains scrapings from a *lepohina* branch (a variety of the castor-oil plant) to prepare a remedy for her sick son, 'Afa, in 'Ohonua, 'Eua. Liquid made from the inner bark is used for treating fever or inflammation, and it can also serve as a laxative. [824] [757]

'Oku ta'etotongi e faito'o kotoa ki he kakai Tonga. 'Oku fu'u manakoa 'aupito e faito'o fakapapalangi, 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga. Ko e ta'ahine neesi akoako ia ko Susitina 'Ofa 'i he fale sivi pepe 'i Kolomotu'a. Ka neongo ia, 'oku kei malohi 'aupito pe foki mo e faito'o fakatonga, 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u. Ko 'Ana Koka ia 'oku ne vauvau ha va'a lepohina ke 'ai 'aki ha faito'o ma'a hono ki'i foha ko 'Afa. Ko e ongo me'a eni mei 'Ohonua, 'Eua.

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The Government Experimental Farm in Vaini, Tongatapu, conducts experiments with livestock, soil, fertilizer, weed killers and crop rotation to improve agricultural techniques and production in Tonga. Photo above shows 'Otenili Tu'ipulotu (at right), the Farm Manager, and Saia Fia in the piggery at the Government Experimental Farm.

Faama 'Ahi'ahi 'a e Pule'anga 'i Vaini. 'Oku fai ai e ngaahi sipinga ngoue mo e tauhi menu kehekehe ke tokoni ki he fakalaka 'a e ngaue ki he kelekele. Ko e ta eni 'o e Pule Faama ko 'Otenili Tu'ipulotu (to'omata'u) pea mo Saia Fia 'i he fale fanga puaka 'i Faama.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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[caption is on p.72]

[p.73]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

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Kuinita expertly prepares a delectable, popular Tongan dish called *lu pulu*, which consists of corned beef and onions in a rich coconut cream sauce, wrapped in taro leaves and steamed in the underground oven at 'Oholei.

'Oku kei manakoa 'aupito e kai 'umu 'i Tonga. Ko e ta eni 'o Kuinita 'i 'Oholei lolotonga 'ene kofu ha lu pulu.

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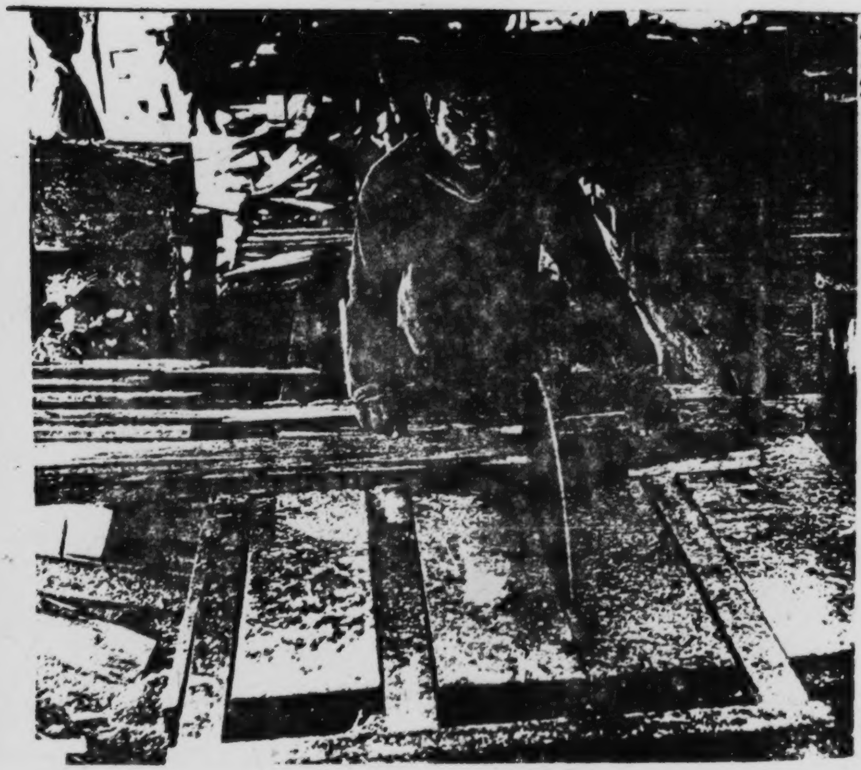

'Eua, which has the majority of forestry in Tonga, today supplies most of the Kingdom's timber. However, the five sawmills (1 large government one, 4 smaller, private ones) on the island are rapidly depleting 'Eua's supply of forest resources. (Photo: Angaha, 'Eua.)

Ko e fahi'anga papa eni 'i Angaha, 'Eua. Ko 'Eua foki 'oku lahi taha ai e vao ta fe'unga pea mo e fahi papa, ka kuo vave 'osi pe e papa ai. 'Oku nima e fahi'anga papa 'i 'Eua (1 'a e pule'anga, pea mo e 4 si'isi'i ange 'oku fakalele makehe).

[47]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

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"The Call of the Friendly Islands," Tonga's radio station A3Z, carries local and overseas music, as well as news bulletins in both Tongan and English. Since radio is the most popular and efficient form of communication in Tonga today, A3Z allows time each day to broadcast funeral and other personal messages to villages and distant islands not serviced by telegraph or telephone. Former A3Z Manager, 'Uliti Palu, is pictured here in his office in Nuku'alofa.

"Ui 'a e 'Otu Felenite," ko e lea ma'u ia 'a e kautaha fakamafola lea 'i Tonga ko e A3Z 'i Nuku'alofa. 'Oku fakamafola ai e ngaahi fasi fakatonga mo e fakapalangi foki, pea pehe pe mo e ongoongo. 'Oku fakamafola ai foki mo e ngaahi popoaki kehekehe, kau ai e ongoongo fekau'aki mo e pekia. Ko e ta eni 'o 'Uliti Palu 'i he 'ene kai pule 'i he A3Z.

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[p.79]

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[871] ←

'Atenisi Institute (above), the only privately operated educational institution in Tonga, is run by 'I. Futa Helu in Nuku'alofa; it is basically a high school, with technical and university divisions as well. There is also in Tonga a branch of the University of the South Pacific, and the photo at right shows 'Anau Fanua in the U.S.P. library; classes at U.S.P. in Nuku'alofa include law, commerce, Tongan traditions, economics, mathematics and French. In addition, Tonga has a Teacher Training College (Nuku'alofa) and an Agricultural College ('Eua), and there are a certain number of scholarships available each year for study abroad.

Ko e 'apiako eni ko 'Atenisi (ta 'i 'olunga) 'a ia 'oku fakalele 'e 'I. Futa Helu. Ko e 'apiako pe eni 'e taha 'i Tonga 'a ia 'oku 'ikai fakalele 'e he pule'anga pe ko e taha 'o e ngaahi siasi. Ko e 'api ako'anga ma'olunga, pea 'i ai foki mo hono va'a ako faka'univesiti mo e ako fakatekinikale. 'Oku 'i Tonga foki mo e va'a 'o e 'Univesiti 'o e Pasifiki Saute. Ko 'Anau Fanua eni (ta 'i to'omata'u) 'i he loki laipeli 'o e 'apiako ko ia. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e 'Apiako Fakafaiako 'i Nuku'alofa, kae'uma'a e Kolisi Ngoue 'i 'Eua.

Tu'ivakano, noble of Nukunuku and one of the 33 142
hereditary nobles of Tonga, is a talented and 291
well-known composer of Tongan music.

Ko e taha eni e punake mohu talen̈iti mo ongoongoa, 302
'a Tu'ivakano. Ko e taha foki ia 'o e kau nopele 565
tukufakaholo 'e 33 'i Tonga. Ko e nopele ia 'o 583
Nukunuku.

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Tongan scholar, Sione Latukefu, Ph.D. Philosophy, is author of the book *Church and State in Tonga* (Australian National University Press, 1974).

Ko e tangata ako mo'onia eni ko Sione Latukefu, 'a ia 'oku ne ma'u e mata'itohi ma'olunga ko e Toketa Filosofia. Kuo ne fa'u foki ha tohi ko e *Church and State in Tonga* [Siasi mo e Pule'anga 'i Tonga] 'a ia na'e pulusi 'i he 1974.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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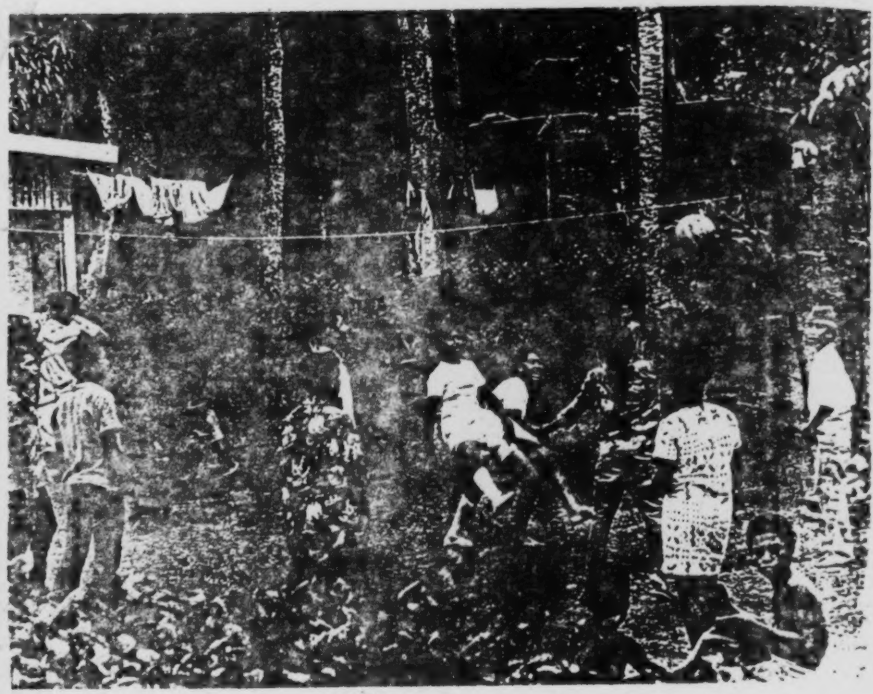
At the very heart of Tongan life is the family unit, and it is that which keeps Tonga strong: her loyalty within herself, her spirit of closeness, and the bonds of unity among her people. The family and friends of Dr. and Mrs. Posesi Fanua, shown here in Nuku'alofa, bespeak of that vital force which embraces persons of every age. 59 181

Ko e me'a mahu'inga 'aupito 'i Tonga 'a e mo'ui fakafamili. Ko e ta eni 'o e famili, kainga mo e ngaahi maheni 'o Toketa Posesi Fanua mo hono hoa ko Tupou.



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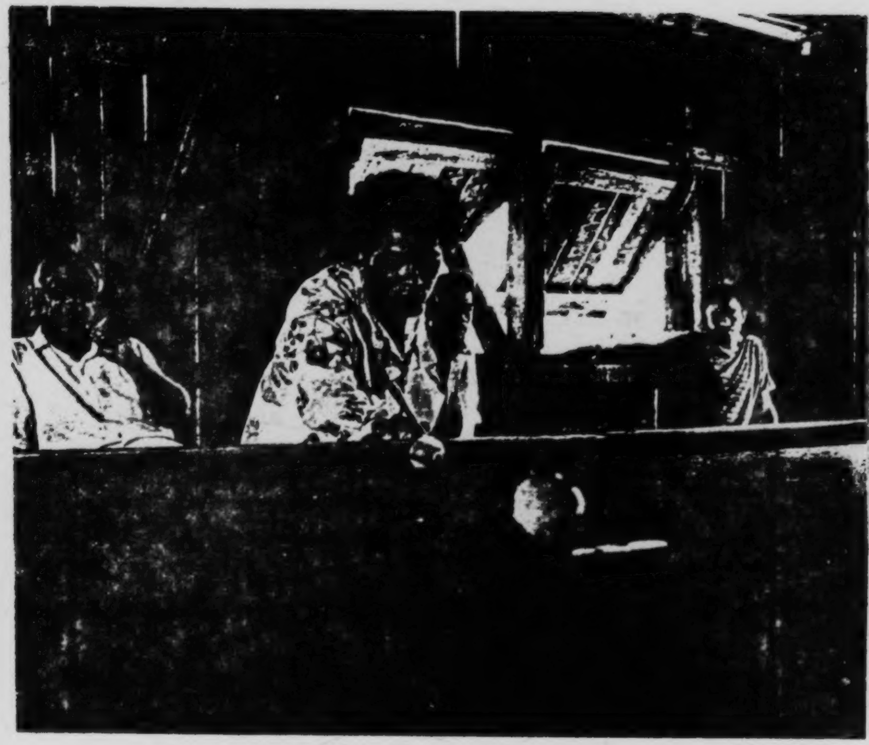
While life goes on otherwise uninterrupted, the quiet of a Tongan village often witnesses an exciting game of volleyball (*above:* Neiafu, Vava'u), or behind the scenes, a game of pool (*opposite:* 'Ohonua, 'Eua)—both of which are favorite pastimes in Tonga.

[529]

Ko e taha eni e ongo faiva sipoti manakoa 'i Tonga, 'a e voli polo 'o hange ko ia 'i he ta 'i 'olunga (Neiafu), pea mo e hoka 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i he tafa'aki 'e taha ('Ohonua, 'Eua).

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



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[caption is on p. 86]

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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE PALACE OFFICE
'OFISI 'OE PALASI

I would like to make it clear to the public that this book is not a linguistic work, neither is it an historical one. It is written for entertainment's sake and to try and offer my own people, and others that may be interested, something to while away some time that may seem too long for them.

Naʻe ʻikai faʻu e tohi ni ko ha tohi fakahisitolia pe tufunga lea. Ka ʻoku ou fakatauange ʻe maʻu ai ha fiefia ʻa ha niʻihi, kaeʻumaʻā ʻa hoku fanga tokoua, pea mo e vūlangi kotoa.

Tupou Posesi Fanua

[p. 6]

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602
603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
[264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[585] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[574] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

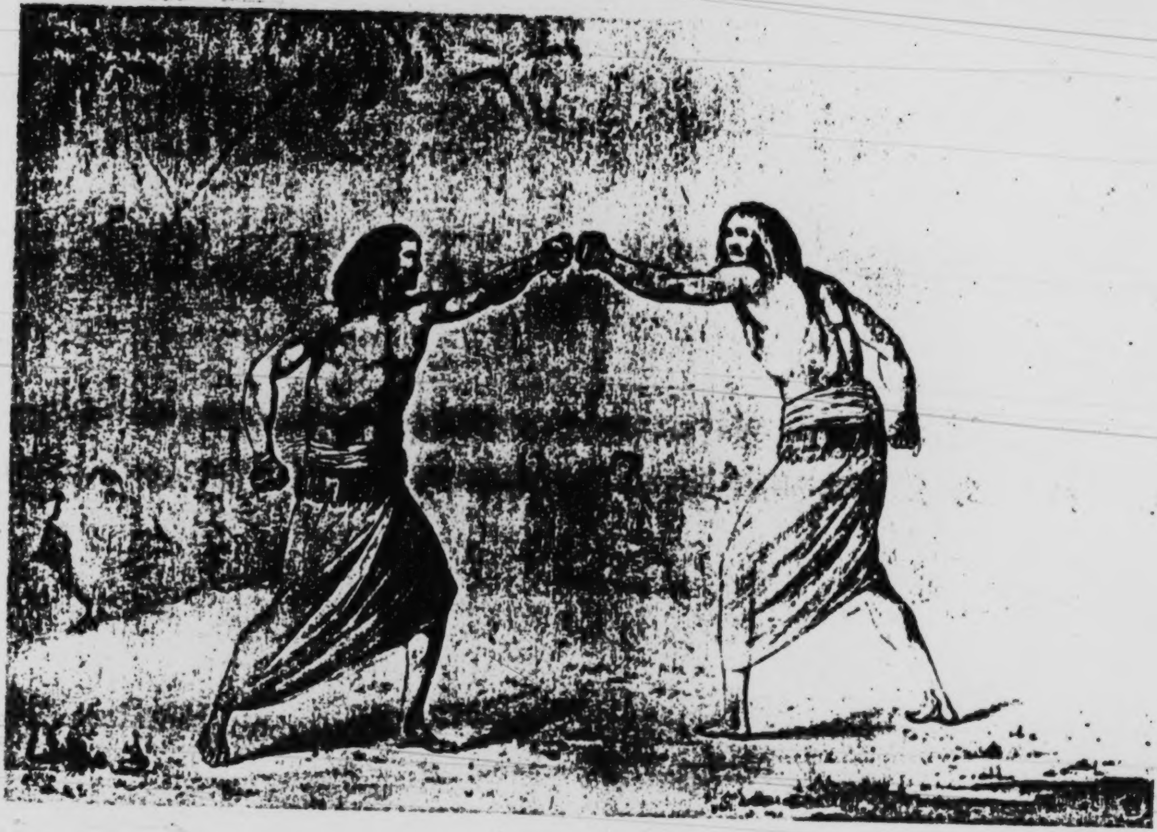
602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602
601 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
[276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]



Pl. 19. Tongan boxing

Drawing by Webber.—B.M., Add. MS 15513·9

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[Facing p. 144-D]

but not many of the latter except what is made so by art, for they 302 have a method of staining it so that we frequently see different colours [142] on the same head.[1] The Women in general wear it short, but the men have it in various forms, according to fancy, it is not very uncommon to see a man with the hair cut of one half of his head and on the other half very long. When I was first at these islands, I thought it had been a universal custom for both men and Women to wear it short, and at that time I did not see above one or two exceptions, but now we saw a great many. To have the hair croped, does not arrise from custom 765 wholy, it is a Mark of Mourning, both general and particular.[2] The [302] amputation of the little finger and cuting, or pricking the face over the Cheek bone with a sharks tooth is done on the same account.[3] 765 And besides this, some tho not many, inflect upon themselves a testi- 304 mony of their regret for the loss of a friend or relation, *Wounds* which from the scars that remained, must have been deep and to all appearence dangerous; so that at first we thought they had been wounds received in battle. They frequently anoint thier heads and bodies 302 with Cocoanut oil, but as it is very pure and never rancid, no disagreeable smell arises from this Custom. They have the same custom 304 of staining their bodies as is practised at Otaheite, and with very little variation either in the Manner or Method. Thier Kings as a [565] Mark of destinction are exempted from this custom and also from [765] practiseing any of those bloody marks of Mourning.

Thier clothing consists of cloth, or Matting, but mostly the former, 291

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[1] Cf. II, p. 267. Anderson elaborates on this.^

[2] 'When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of [766] mourning (*tauanga*). The hair was not "bobbed", but was removed quite close to the scalp. . . . chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon [565] the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha . . .'—Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 199. For Gifford's '*tua* retainers' read 'kin lower in rank than the deceased'.

[3] The maltreatment of the face was certainly mourning; but neither Cook nor any of his men, except Anderson and King, ever seem to have hit on the significance of the amputa- [782] tion or partial amputation of the finger, as a sacrificial or intercessory rite for the life of a [755] sick person. With Bayly, 17 May, indeed we get a triumph of misinformation, worth printing as an example of how far it is possible to go wrong: 'These people cut off the little finger of the right hand at the death of a Father or brother with this difference for a brother they cut off only one joint—but when the father dies they cut off the whole finger; When a sister dies they cut off one joint of the little Finger of the left hand, but at the death of a Mother they cut off the whole finger. For other relations they cut their hair short, & beate the cheake-bone with their knuckles till the blood run which they smear about the face & body where it remains some days & then wash themselves & the mo[u]rning is over.' King gives us sense: 'The rigour of their mourning at once shews that their Affections do not cease at the Grave & that they consider death as a great evil, for the mutilation of the little finger is as a propitiation to avert the consequences in themselves or chiefs of sickness; besides the Tooge of the men, burnt circles on the Arms of the women & their hair cut short, on the death of their relations they beat out their teeth with stones, thrust spears thro the inner part of the thigh, in the sides, below the Armpits & thro the Cheeks, whether all this can wholly arise from Affection or superstitious notions I cannot say.'

A [See 55: Anderson, this file--Analyst]

291 the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one
piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to
go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle
or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as
the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle
is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when
[565] unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as
to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting
are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up
with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made
of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth
or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap
292 round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their
great *Haivas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made
[535] for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest
dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on
what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I
could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces
from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other
301 materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of
many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise
shell.[3]

342 *Houses* The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those
of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by
[352] pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the workman
ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth
[264] smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean;
they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed
on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong
Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a
nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the
352 ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about
519 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon
its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a
fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family
to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

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[1] Tongan *malo*.

[714] [2] This head-dress, the *fas* or *fasfas*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony, or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '. . . both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[562] [609] [4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the 352
unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is 513
large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so
that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have [291]
mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear
in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture
consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few 352
gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve 415
them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the
family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often mentioned 262
that it is almost needless to add any thing
further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food,
nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour
and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and [231]
poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor
is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed [136]
generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they
have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes 252
which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of
any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or 272
the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning.
I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the 264
generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they
meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals [415]
generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a]
meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four persons, [643]
one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a [644]
another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and
what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to
what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same
dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

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wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women,
which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very [562]
shy. . . . In the inside of the dwelling houses, are matts spread on the Ground; & a thick
upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which inclosed a Circular space for the Master & [609]
Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this
kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] 'The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its [565]
products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their
precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu* [421]
except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to
large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment. [643]

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who
were appointed for the purpose.

Ko'ooma,[1] small black spots there and about the body call'd 304
,[2] and in different parts longitudinal prominent scars
nam'd Taffa,[3] none of which are ornamental but marks that show they 765
have mourn'd for their dead relations;[4] the two first of which are
effected by fire, the other by incision, and seems to be done exactly
in the same manner as those of the natives at Van Diemens land who
probably do it on the same occasion.

Their common dress is a piece of cloth fasten'd about the middle 291
either by pushing the ends as they reach over within each other with
a belt of the same cloth, or with a strong roundish plaited girdle [824]
tapering at each end made from the Cocoa nut coir. It reaches to the
ankle but sometimes scarcely so far, and they often leave as much
above the fastening as will draw up & wrap round the body and
shoulders when they find it necessary. The most usual next to that is [824]
mats of various sorts fasten'd in the same manner, and over both are
often tied a sort of sash made from the leaves of the Jeejee; but the [285]
people of consequence are distinguish'd from the others by wearing
their cloth plaited; and to make it a full dress, which is done on particular
occasions as in their dances, Natche &c, they put over it a bit
of matt only finish'd in the middle, with the long ends staind red.
There is no distinction between the dress of the women and men and 301
their ornaments are also the same. The most common of these are [291]
necklaces, made of the fruit of the Pandanus and various sweet
smelling flowers which go under the general name of Ka'kulla,[5] others 301
made with small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, sharks teeth & 291
other things all of which hang loose upon the breast. In the same [824]
manner they often wear a mother of pearl shell neatly polishd, a ring
of the same substance carv'd on the upper part of the arm, rings of
tortoise shell on the fingers, and a number of these join'd together
as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though most frequently [304]
only one) are perforated with two holes in which they wear [302]

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[1] This is rather difficult: *ko uma* does not occur as a single word. *Uma* is shoulder; Anderson's informant probably gave him this word instead of that for a particular fashion of tattooing. 'Concentric circles on the arms and shoulders' was called 'Eetace', says Labillardière, II, p. 405.

[2] 'Lafo', says Labillardière, ibid., 'Tattooing in the form of freakles on the face and part of the body'. Neither of these expressions for tattooing comes into any other word-list or dictionary I have seen.

[3] *tafa*, to cut in pieces, or generally to cut or lance.

[4] *none of which . . . relations*: Anderson seems to be quite wrong here. Signs of mourning might vary from singeing off the hair close to the scalp to quite savage self-infliction of wounds with clubs, stones, spears or knives; but tattooing does seem to have been purely ornamental. The 'longitudinal prominent scars', on the other hand, may have been those of mourning wounds.

[5] *kakala*, sweet-smelling flowers of any kind, or the trees and plants bearing them.

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, 411
different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds,
made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and [352]
their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously [415]
carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone,
Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, &
3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little
purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a
Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane
runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long
quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel 764
about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand
two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing
in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very
neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our
approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which
are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They [846]
have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they
cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the [304]
public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country
Cockpit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, 287
that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs
nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted [171]
afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown
gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which [291]
might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the
most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has
something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general
Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of 285
Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others
variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner,
others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit
upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their
Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

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[1] *tanu*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tanu*, a cemetery [766]
in general; *fa'itoka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itoka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *esi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

344 kept their Drums. The soil is rich & good & the Climate equal & fine
like most others situated in the same Latitude, where there is no cold
134 Weather & the Inhabitants are not oppressed with Heat.

132 The Chief Produce of the Island is Cocoa nuts, bread fruit, Plantains & yams & Sugar Cane, all which the Country affords in great
241 Abundance, & there are some Shaddocks, but not near so many as at
Middleburg. Their Hogs are not so large as those of Otaheite nor so
231 numerous, tho' we found plenty to supply the Ships while we staid
[136] among them, there are but few Dogs & many Rats on the Island and
[177] large Batts. They were very fond of our Cats some of which they
stole, for which 2 or 3 of them were flogged on board the Discovery
[685] more than once. They have Variety of Birds some of which they used
[648] to bring on Sticks to the Ship to sell, such as Pigeons & a beautiful
small green & red Parrot and they have plenty of Poultry about their
Houses.

The Inhabitants of these delightful Isles are a handsome fine Race
302 of People; the Men are rather above the common size, strong &
[141] exceedingly well made, of a dark copper Complexion with black
[142] Hair naturally, I say naturally because they daub it over with a
Paste made of coral Powder which changes the Colour of it in different places into yellow, so that it is of a mixed Colour yellow & black,
and this no doubt is the yellow Hair which Dalrymple takes notice
of as having been seen by Quiros & other former Navigators to the
South Seas, & which he supposes to be natural & therefore concludes
that they are a different race of Men from the other South Sea
Islanders who had not this custom among them, and therefore produces it as an Argument for the existence of [a] Southern Continent
[171] & that these were some of the natives. This practice is not confined to
these people but common among other Islands in these Seas. They
304 tattaw or mark their Loins & Thighs in various Lines according to
their fancy, tho' there is an uniformity or standard to which they all
approach like the Otaheiteans in tattawing the Breech. Some of
302 them tattaw the Glans Penis. They all shave their beards, which is
done with 2 small shells with sharp edges one laid under the Hair
[237] while they cut the beard with the other, & by this means they per-
[412] form the Operation with expedition & get the hair off tolerably
clean, tho' they always preferred our Razors when they could prevail
upon the Ship's Barber to trim them.

Their Dress consists of a piece of Cloth tyed round the middle
291 which descends as low as the Knee with sometimes a matt over it;
others wear what they call a Pooraw[1] which is a Substance between

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[1] *pulou.*

our Cloth & matting very strong & neatly made, some of these are 291
brown others quite white & they are always fringed. They have also
various kinds of Matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which 292
they wear upon extraordinary Occasions, they also wear over all
round the middle a dress made of Leaves more for ornament than 301
use, & they wear one like it but less about their necks, which they
also ornament with Necklaces made of Shells, but these soon gave
way to our blue beads of which they were extravagantly fond both
men & women. The common Dress of the Chiefs & which seemed to 565
distinguish them from the common people was a large piece of Cloth
round their waist & plaited at the upper part, which is done by the 291
women with the same Care & nicety as Shirts are plaited in England
tho' the folds are not near so fine. This was no unbecoming Dress, [302]
they oil their Hair & Shoulders with Cocoa nut oil after bathing, &
thus dress'd and decorated an Amsterdam Chief cuts no despicable
appearance. They wear their Hair long, flowing over their Shoulders, 302
but they are obliged to cut it off on particular Occasions such as the
Death of the Chiefs or of their relations, and for the same Reason 763
both men & women & even Children cut off their little fingers: many 304
of them have both cut off, there are but very few that have not lost
one, they cut it off just underneath the first joint, tye up the Stump 752
with grass & leaves[1] & it soon heals, they cut them off with stone
Chizels & then bury them in the ground. Their Arms & Cheek bones 304
are also marked in memory of the dead. Their walk is strait & 765
majestic & their manners free & open. In their Dispositions they are
friendly hospitable & humane, very tender to & careful of old People 181
and the Sick, & civil & obliging to each other, treat their women well. [516]
I was much pleased with the following instance of their gratitude
which I happened to be a witness to. A large Sailing Canoe having 431
got her rigging entangled with the Resolution's driver boom was in
danger of carrying away her Mast, & the Indians had made several
Efforts but in vain to disengage it, which a young Gentleman who
had the Watch upon deck observing ordered one of the Men to
assist them, who thinking it no part of his duty growled about it &
was very unwilling to go, on which the gentleman jumped on the
boom himself & got the Canoe clear; the Indians then insisted upon
his accepting a large bunch of Cocoa nuts as a present for the Service
he had done them, but this he would not accept tho' he was much
pleased with the Offer.

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[1] There can have been no uniformity of treatment. Anderson speaks of no treatment at all; Mariner says (II, p. 179) that after the operation the stump was merely 'held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh-plucked grass', this stopping the flow of blood.

[1777]

142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them
somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female
softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who
from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we
saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at
Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm
291 with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of
Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of
[301] Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the
[237] Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class
[824] of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee
order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a
565 graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the
superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a
302 young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament,
[765] which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own
Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it
831 than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most
565 lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came
609 on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for
Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for
836 the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their
846 bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a
certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the
302 Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that
595 none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the
generality of the people having only one.

565 We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a
Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons &
143 appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can
hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough &
cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the
skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of
the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that
is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly
appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We
saw no Women of this Colour.

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[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[853] [3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUNDAY JULY 6th. Struck the Tents & got every thing on board. 122
The Sheep given to Malawaggee being neglected and ill used by the
Natives Captn Cook took them on board again to day. While we lay
here a grand Festival was observed on shore called Annachee, held 651
on account of Powlohow's eldest Son arriving at a certain age (about 796
14 or 15). At this Festival which lasted three days, were present 644
Captn Cook & Clerke with Omai & some of the Officers of the
Resolution. It was held in the interior part of the Island where
Powlohow & the Principal Chiefs lived. Captain Cook & Omai were
permitted to assist at the Ceremony, which they did dressed in this [291]
Country Habit with their Hair loose about their Shoulders & uncovered [302]
from the waist upwards. Powlohow's Son was seated cross [123]
legged upon fine Matts & the principal Chiefs of the Island came in a
Procession & made him Presents of Cloth & other Manufactures
with all kind of Provisions, & Captain Cook & Omai who joined in
the procession gave him some Hatchets, Beads & other Things—
every thing was conducted with great Solemnity & it was death for
any of the Natives who were not concerned in the Ceremony to be
seen near the Place, & such of our Gentlemen who were Spectators
through a Hedge were not supposed to be there. We supposed that at
this Festival the Chiefs were swearing Fealty & doing Homage to the
next Heir to the Crown, & that by the Presents they laid at his feet,
that they acknowledged all their Property was in his Power & that
they only held it at his Pleasure. And they told us that in about a
Month's time another Festival was to be held in the same place on 651
the like Occasion, at which the Chiefs were to do him Homage and
acknowledge their Lives to be in his Hands, by each of them killing 796
a certain Number of their dependents in his Presence, & they said 644
that about 50 human Sacrifices would be offered up on the occasion; 782
Pheenow was to kill the greatest Number of any of the Chiefs, his
Quota being six, the rest were to slay some four, some 3 & others two [634]
& one according to their different Ranks. This horrid business was to
be performed by the Chiefs themselves who knock the Victims in the
Head with a Club. We asked them if those who were to be sacrificed
knew that they were to be the Victims; they told us not & that if they
did they would run away, but that they were always taken unawares.
Such is the Savage Custom of these People, & in such a deplorable
state of Servitude do the lower Rank of men live among them that
they hold their existence but at the will of their Masters.

THURSDAY JULY 10th. At 7 o'Clock this Morning got under sail with 122
the Wind at ESE; employed all day in turning to Windward, at

535 Summary of Leg Kinemes

These eleven leg kinemes are those that are significant in the Tongan dance system. From this inventory we can now make statements about the use of the legs in this tradition. First we can say that the legs are always flexible at the knee. The main movements of the legs are straight steps to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps--that is, jumps from one foot to another--or large steps are not significant categories in Tongan dance. Perhaps this is because full use of the upper leg would be required for a leap or large step.

This limited use of the upper leg is probably most important
for a characterization of Tongan leg movements. Although the upper
leg certainly does move when taking steps or bending, it moves always
535 as a result of movement of the lower leg and never for itself. In
291 the earliest accounts of Tongan dance the dancers are described as
[304] being clothed between the waist and the knee. It was not considered
in good taste to expose this part of the body and it was this part of
the body that was tattooed in ancient Tonga.

516 To move the upper legs by themselves is called *fakamahae*.[1]
517 Anyone, and especially a woman, who moves this part of her legs is
considered to have very poor taste, and indeed, to be even vulgar.

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[1] This word usually refers only to women.

535 The Tongans when seeing a modern rendition of the Hawaiian dance move-
829 ment 'uwehe in which the knees were opened to the sides, were shocked (traditionally in Hawaii this movement is done bending the knees
535 forward). A group of school children in Tonga did a take-off on
857 ballet for a program but refused to use their upper legs as is proper in ballet which caused their performance to have very little resemblance to classical ballet.

535 Movement of the upper leg is hindered by a tightly wrapped vala,
292 a garment which extends from waist to knee for both men and women. Traditionally this wrap-around skirt-like covering was made of tapa; today it is made of cloth. Only during dances do the women wear the
[291] vala to the knees. For ordinary street wear women wear the vala extending from waist to ankle under Western style clothes. 'Traditional' Tongan dance costumes used today consist of a vala of tapa (or cloth) completely covered with ti leaves, shells, seeds, or layers of tapa. On top of this dancers wear a waist mat (ta'ovala) of woven pandanus or a flower or leaf girdle (sisi) which extends downward several inches from the waist. This clothing not only restricts movements of the hips and upper legs but also hides any movement made there.

[824] Today for one type of dance called tau'olunga a skirt of shredded hibiscus inner bark (fau) is sometimes worn, especially for informal
535 or tourist type occasions. During this kind of dance the movements of the legs are a bit more free, but it is always the lower leg which

[423 cont.]

175 running along the shore. The hills which were low, and not so high
175 above the level of the sea as the Isle of Wight, were agreeably
133 adorned with small clumps of trees scattered at some distance, and
137 the intermediate ground appeared covered with herbage, like many
175 parts of England. It was not long before we perceived some of the
609 inhabitants busied in launching several canoes, and paddling
175 towards us. We threw a rope into one of these canoes which ran up
609 close to us, and one of the three people in her came on board, and
431
201 presented a root of the intoxicating pepper-tree of the South Sea
Islands, touched our noses with his like the New Zeelanders, in
sign of friendship, and then sat down on the deck without speaking
a word. The captain presented him with a nail, upon which he
immediately held it over his own head, and pronounced fagafetai,
175 which was probably an expression of thanksgiving. He was naked
291 to the waist, but from thence to the knees he had a piece of cloth
wrapped about him, which seemed to be manufactured much like that of
Taheitee, but was covered with a brown colour, and a strong glue,
175 which made it stiff and fit to resist the wet. His stature was
142 middle-sized, and his lineaments were mild and tolerably regular.
175 His colour was much like that [424] of the common Taheitians (9),
142
302
[028]

9. As I shall frequently mention the inhabitants of Taheitee, and of the Society Islands, in comparison with other islanders, it will be proper to observe, that since the natives both of Taheitee and of the Society Islands, are perfectly alike in most respects, I shall indifferently call a custom Taheitian, or usual at the Society Islands, which is common to them both. Therefore, unless I expresly put these terms in contradistinction to each other, I wish to have them understood in general as synonymous.

that is, of a clear mahogany or chesnut brown; his beard was cut short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short frizzled curls, burnt as it were at the tips,

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will [A]admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight
by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though
all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

175 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who
123 invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
175 311 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into
a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a
very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green,
which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in
England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most
elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner
of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright,
and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of
a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and
covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

175 [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a
533 considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two
[609] [123] or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceed-
[171] ingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical
when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by
snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

[A] [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account—Analyst.]

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171
[181] But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[433] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[23] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[262] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
● [291] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[351] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

[434]

175 The women, however, were exempted from this custom of disfiguring
304 themselves, and had only a few black dots on their hands. But
besides these, both sexes had three spots on the arms, consisting of
concentric circles of punctures, without any blacking, which I have
175 mentioned before. The men in general went almost naked, having only
291 a small bit of cloth round the loins. Some, however, wore a dress
[171] nearly resembling that of the women. This was a long piece of cloth
[531] made of bark, in the same manner as the Taheitee cloth, but afterwards
painted chequerwise, or in patterns nearly resembling our painted
floorcloths, and covered with a size, which turned the wet for a long
while. This they wrapped round their waist, the men nearly about
their middle, the women more immediately under the breast, and in
[171] both it commonly descended below the knees. Instead of the cloth
they likewise substituted mats, extremely well wrought, in form resembling
those of Taheitee, and sometimes, though rarely, covered
175 even their shoulders and breasts with them. The men frequently wore
301 a string round their necks, from which a mother of pearl shell hung
237 down on the breast. The women often had loose necklaces, consisting
of several strings of small shells, intermixed with seeds, teeth of
fishes, and in the middle of all the round *operculum* or cover of
[304] a shell, as large as a crown-piece. Both their ears were perforated,
and sometimes with two holes, and a little cylinder cut out [435] of
175 tortoise-shell or bone, was stuck through both the holes. Sometimes
301 these cylinders were only of reed, filled with a red solid substance,
531 painted and lacquered with different colours in regular compartments.
175 The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was,
304 that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both
291

[435 cont.]

175 hands; the differences of sex or age did not exempt them from this
304 amputation; for even amongst the few children, whom we saw running about
● [291] naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few
grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an ex-
175 ception to the general rule. We immediately conjectured that the death
304 of a near relation or friend might require these strange mutilations,
171 in the same manner as is customary among the Hottentots, in Africa (10);
the Guaranos, in Paraguay; and the Californians; and our enquiries,
though unsuccessful at first, afterwards confirmed the conjecture.
175 Another singularity, which we observed to be very general among these
304 people, was a round spot on each cheek-bone, which appeared to have been
burnt or blistered. Some had it quite recent, in others it was covered
with a scurf, and many had a very slight mark of its former existence.
[171] We could never learn how and for what purpose it was made; but we supposed it could only be [436] used like the Japanese *moxa*, as a remedy
against various complaints.

175
122
439 Notwithstanding the engaging manners of the natives, we foresaw
that we should make but a very short stay among them, because our
captains could not obtain refreshments in any considerable quantity;
which might be owing not so much to their scarcity upon the island, as
to the difficulty of making our goods current for such valuable articles,
175 when they could obtain them in exchange for arms and utensils. They
439 had brought indeed a few yams, bananas, coco-nuts, and shaddocks for
[227] sale, but they soon dropt that branch of trade. Our people purchased
[237] an incredible number of fish hooks made of mother of pearl, barbed with
[171]

10. See Kolben's account of the Cape of Good Hope; also the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, par M. Pauw, vol. II. p.224, 229.

[458 cont.]

175 [609] of the inhabitants, under the shade of the wild wood which lined the
coast. There they lighted numerous fires, and were heard conversing
175 during the greatest part of the night. It seems their eagerness
439 to continue the trade with us, would not permit them to return to
their dwellings, which were probably situated in the remotest part
of the island. Our goods were in great repute with them. Nails,
which the natives commonly hung on a string round the neck, or
stuck through the ear, were very current for fowls, and smaller ones
175 for bunches of bananas, and coco-nuts. Their fowls were the largest
231 we had ever seen, and extremely well-tasted. Their plumage was
commonly very glossy, and beautifully coloured with red and gold.
175 Our sailors bought numbers of them, in order to enjoy the barbarous
439 amusement of seeing them fight. From the time of our leaving Huahine,
000 they had daily followed the cruel occupation of tormenting these poor
birds, by trimming their wings, and incensing them against each other.
They [459] had so well succeeded with those of Huahine, that some of
them fought with the most desperate fury of true gamecocks; but
they were well disappointed with those which they purchased at Tonga-
Tabboo, and as they could not make them fight, they were forced to
eat them in revenge.

175 Early the next morning,[A] the captain's friend Attahha or Attagha
565 (see p. 447.)[B] came on board in one of the first canoes, and breakfasted with
● [291] us. He was drest in mats, one of which, on account of the coolness of
175 the morning, he had drawn over his shoulders. He resembled all other
565 uncivilized people in the circumstance that his attention could not be
114 fixed to one object for any space of time, and it was difficult to pre-
[126] vail on him to sit still, whilst Mr. Hodges drew his portrait. An

[A] [5 October--Analyst.] [B] [i.e. p. 37-8 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

[172 cont.]

609 obliged to return to the shore, very much discontented. Immediately
175 after breakfast, Dr. Sparrman, my father and myself accompanied
439 175 captain Cook to the shore, where a trade commenced for shaddocks and
yams, which the natives sold us in prodigious quantities. Bananas
and coco-nuts were scarce in proportion, and bread-fruit still more
291 rare, though the trees of these sorts were very numerous. All the
175 men went nearly naked, a slight covering on the loins excepted; a few
of them, however, and most of the women, were drest from the waist to
the ankles, in a piece of stiff painted cloth made of bark, wrapped
several times round them, or in mats.

As soon as our boats reached the shore, the clamours of all those
439 175 who had something to sell became so excessively loud, that we hastened
137 into the country, whose aspect was very inviting. A considerable
241 variety of plants covered the [173] ground in wild luxuriance; and the
175 great number of plantations of all sorts, made the whole island resemble
487 a beautiful garden. The fences which had confined the view at Tonga-
175 Tabboo, were here much less frequent, and only enclosed one side of
[417] the path, leaving the other open to the eye. The ground was not
487 137 perfectly level in the interior parts, but rose in several little
241 hillocks lined with hedges and bushes, which formed a most agreeable
175 prospect. The path which we met with, sometimes went under long rows
of lofty trees, planted at considerable distances, between which the
ground was covered with the richest verdure; sometimes a thick and
impenetrable arbour of fragrant shubberies vaulted over it for a
considerable space, and hid it entirely from the sun; sometimes
342 plantations, and sometimes wilds appeared on both sides. The houses
175 of the natives were of a singular structure; their height was about

[183 cont.]

142 had ever seen in these isles, full of sweetness and the charms of youth.
175 Her large dark eyes sparkled with fire, and her ebon curls floated
● [291] on her neck. She was of a lighter colour than the common people
and wore a brown cloth which closely embracing the body immediately
under the breast, but being somewhat wider [184] towards the feet,
perhaps suited her better than the most elegant European dress.

648
Mr. Patton having been sent for, arrived with proper instruments,
175 and dressed the wounds of the poor native, whose countrymen brought
[752] many banana leaves, which were laid on over the dressing. A bottle
of brandy was given them, with directions to wash the wounds with the
liquor from time to time. The wound was not dangerous, as it happened
in a fleshy part; but as the distance was so short, the shot had torn
the flesh very much, and made the wound very painful to the poor man.
After this we distributed some beads, and departed making various signs
439 of friendship. The natives like those of Tonga-Tabboo, were strangers
175 to resentment, and continued to trade with our ship as before. They
seemed to possess a truly mercantile spirit, and spared no trouble
[186] to obtain some of our goods or curiosities. Among the rest, they were
much delighted with a great number of young puppies which we had
taken on board at the Society Islands, on purpose to stock such islands
as were not provided with them. We left two couple on Namoka, of which
502 the natives promised to take particular care. These people managed
481 their canoes with surprising agility, and swam with the greatest ease.
175 Their common trading canoes were neatly made, and polished like those
509 175 which I have already described. But those of the neighbouring islands
were of a great size, and some [185] of them contained upwards of fifty
people. They always consisted of two large canoes, fastened by a

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and 114
more competent hands.[3]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had 154
no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The
women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance [123]
that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women
informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men.
Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are 154
given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to 828
dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending 787
death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are
those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of
feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[4] Dreams of
approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams,
generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer
continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams 154
could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited 787
by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness 828
and sterility in women. 757

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. 154
The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist 159
College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend"
appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual [836]
morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been [873]
asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This
dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags [291]
because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without [842]
yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

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[3] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, [101]
to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[4] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337-338, gives [113]
several further examples.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

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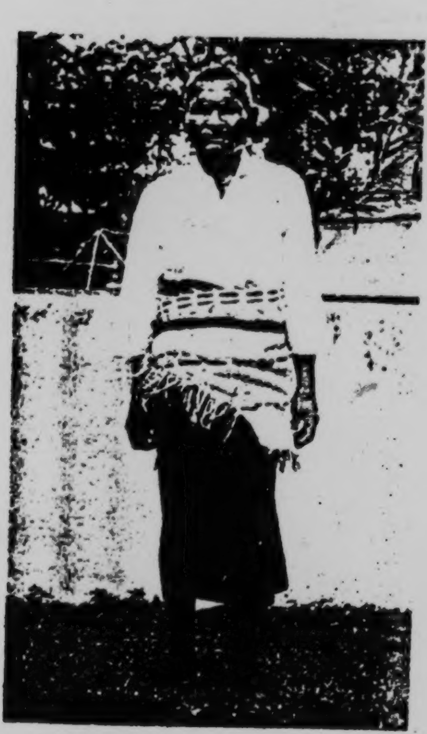

Figure 7.—Tongan man wearing the apron-like *tauvala* of woven *Pandanus* leaves. The *tauvala*, a characteristic and unique part of the Tongan dress, is worn by both sexes.

Tongatapu: *Cook;* on uplifted coral plateau near sea at Houma, forming a distinct zone with dense growth, Oct. 28, 1951, *Hürlimann 12;* in thicket along rocky coast at Hufangalupe, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15067.* 137

'Eua: margin of forest, near central part of eastern coastal ridge, Mar. 24, 1953, *Yuncker 15459.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Common throughout Tonga on the lower terraces near the sea or on sea-facing cliffs. Polynesia to southern Asia.

Tongan name: *fa.*

The leaf fibers are much used in mat and basket weaving (fig. 7). The fruit segments may be chewed and used as food during times of food scarcity. 824 285

An interesting discussion of the status of the binominal *Pandanus tectorius,* 77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

857 were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is
524 released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahau*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of tapa or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

535 A Tongan dance (*lakalaka*) may be performed by any number of
people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance,
[565] teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for
both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fahaiula* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

857 A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more
524 little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a
piece of *gatu* or tapa cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

291 The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women
287 in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white tapa cloth before
[294] it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also
[283] used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several
292 days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with
764 a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the
[412]
[289] *fau* tree serving as thread.

A more modern method of dyeing the tapa cloth for funerals
287 is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),
386

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

439 These glowing reports soon made Tonga a popular port of call for shipping. Traders of all kinds called for provisions, both before and after the establishment of the Wesleyan mission.

In general, the traders and missionaries did not get on well,
439 but there were a few traders who were convinced that the work
797 of the missionaries was definitely advantageous to trade and commerce. Many of these were sons of missionaries who had been born or brought up in the islands. These men maintained good relations with both the missionaries and native leaders, particularly those who had accepted Christianity through the work of the Protestant missionaries, and mutual respect, friendship and help prevailed among them. They did their utmost to assist the work of missionaries, who naturally reciprocated.

Samuel Pinder Henry, a trader son of a missionary in Tahiti,
439 was friendly with the Tu'i Kanokupolu Siosaia Aleamotu'a of
177 Tonga. Arrangements were made with Aleamotu'a to obtain some
797 Tongans to accompany Henry to the New Hebrides to cut sandalwood. Sickness prevented Henry from joining his vessel
643 which called for the men. Unknown to him, his crew had brought
831 some prostitutes in the ship from New Zealand. When the King, who had already become a convert, found this out, he decided to prevent the Tongans from boarding the vessel. However, Nathaniel Turner, who was acquainted with Henry and knew of his reputation for assisting missionaries throughout the islands, persuaded Aleamotu'a not to break his promise and thereby penalise Henry for the misconduct of his crew. He pleaded that it would have been a different matter if Henry himself had been aboard the vessel. The King was eventually persuaded to drop his objections and the Tongans were permitted to join the ship (N. Turner to Committee, 15 May 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

Such dissensions as did take place between some of the traders
439 and the missionaries may be attributed to a number of factors.
797 Certain missionaries were worried about the effects of trade upon their converts:

> 439 The influence of trade is a source of serious apprehension to us. The
> 797 people have a strong desire for our style of dress. Showy and expen-
> 177 sive dress 'fakapapalagi' is the height of their highest aspirations. This
> 291 is attended with many evils—the more they expend in dress the less

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

> they have to give to God—this is one evil—the more their mind is 439
> engrossed in the idea of dress (fakasanisani) beautiful, the less it
> contemplates God and things divine. (Whewell to General Secretary, 797
> Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170) 177

The traders were resentful of the fact that the missionaries 291
were chiefly responsible for the growing sophistication of the
people in the art of trade. In the early days they were able to
fill their ships with provisions in exchange for a few guns, beads, 797
nails, pieces of hoop iron and cheap calico and printed cloth. 439
After the establishment of the mission and the introduction of
schools, the people were taught the value of money and of articles 177
of trade among the civilised countries. They soon refused to trade 436
for cheaper goods and wanted either payment in money or more valuable articles. Peter Turner recorded on his way to Tonga by ship in 1831:

> Many on board think with ungodly captains that missionaries do more hurt than good among heathens, because they cannot do with them as they did while their minds were held in darkness and error. They cannot now buy a fine hog for a large nail, or a piece of hoop iron. (P. Turner, Journal, 23 Feb. 1831)

Among the severest critics of the missionaries was the trader, Peter Dillon, and, in defending the mission against his accusations, the Reverend David Cargill (1842:29-30) wrote:

> We are informed, (page 3,) that, in 1827, the Chevalier [Dillon] 'procured an abundant supply of hogs, poultry, etc., for a few glass beads,' and that 'on his last visit it was with the greatest difficulty he could procure sufficient for his own mess, for which he had to pay dollars.' For once, I believe, the truth of any of the statements in the work which I have been examining. In 1827 the people were ignorant and poor, and would exchange their commodities for almost any article of European manufacture. In 1837 they valued 'a few glass beads' no more than their disappointed and chagrined visitor valued such trifles.

Another source of conflict was over the question of the sale 797
of liquor in Tonga. Selling 'grog' was a source of handsome
profit for the traders. The missionaries, however, objected strongly 439
to this form of trade. They were convinced that it was harmful to 273
the people and would ruin their efforts. A later missionary wrote:

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were
[562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is sup-
porting that which is an evil'.[3]
[461] Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the
[581] 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a
covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either
spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy.
Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of
595 acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people',
wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins
particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away
their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive
671 them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII:
3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one
595 spouse.

Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was
535 mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small
[832] hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual
appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of
535 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all
797 Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement
to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing
[796] was the fact that it was often performed in association with the
old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI
671 which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one
535 month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for
further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission-
797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing
to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise,
291 leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

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[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society,
Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the
husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and
[462] breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed
out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu*
[287] (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and
this was the work to which the clause referred.

was uncivilised, or worse' (Collocott, n.d. (a):199). Blanc (1934: 797
43) has claimed that the European style of clothing was detri- 291
mental to the health of the Tongans:

> Being used to anointing their bodies with coconut oil when leaving their houses, and if caught in the rain receiving no hurt therefrom, they neglected to change into dry clothes after a wetting, and so developed colds and chest troubles which later turned to the dread scourge of consumption.

The missionaries' view on this matter can be seen in Article XLI [671]
which stated that everyone had to be clothed.

The missionaries, however, cannot be blamed completely for
clothing the people. The Tongans themselves were eager to [829]
imitate, though imperfectly, the way the Europeans dressed, for
they, particularly the leading chiefs, believed that it was part of
progress.

The General Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission was very dis- 797
appointed that the promulgation of the 1850 Code had not been
brought about earlier, since he could see no reason for the long 671
delay, and he implied that the missionaries, being the advisers,
were to be blamed for it. However, Peter Turner explained that [648]
the Tongans were very jealous of any foreign interference, and
sometimes even questioned the motives of their missionaries,
whether they might not wish to bring them under some foreign
government. This was the reason why they had not done more to
promote a code of laws like those of the Society Islands and
Hawaii. He wrote in June 1850, a month before the promulgation
of the second Code of Laws in Tonga, 'We have left them to feel
their own wants, and we hope now they will make some move
towards improvement in civilization and political economy' (*W-M
Mag.*, 1851:511-12).

Among other reasons, the two Codes are important for the 671
fact that they formed the basis of the future constitution of Tonga.
They took two very important steps. Firstly, they limited the 642
power of the chiefs, and thereby raised, to some extent, the social, 671
economic, religious as well as political status of the commoners.
Secondly, by limiting the power of the chiefs they consolidated the 642
new and powerful position of the *hau*. 565
[643]

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Item	Days/Year	Item	Days/Year
Carrots	16.7	Cucumber	3.6
Pumpkin	16.0	Dog	2.8
Green *pata* banana	13.5	*Sonchus oleraceus* leaves	2.7
Goa yam	13.4	*Ochrosia oppositifolia* fruit	2.4
Bell pepper	13.4	Duck	2.2
Lettuce	13.3	Goat	2.0
Solanum nigrum leaves	12.2	Ripe plantain	1.4
Ripe plantain	11.2	Sweet potato leaves	1.1
Swamp taro	8.6	*Cordyline terminalis* tuber	0.8
Chinese cabbage	6.5	*Misapeka* banana	0.8
Horsemeat	6.1	Cat	0.3
Ripe *mamae* banana	6.0	Pandanus fruit	0.3
Sausage (I)	5.6	Polynesian arrowroot	0.2
		Manioc leaves	0.2

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[177]
[439]

Except for ceremonial occasions, European dress and imported material have replaced the tapa cloth worn prior to European contact. However, the traditional *ta'ovala*, a woven or plaited mat-like garment which is tied around the waist by a cord, is still worn formally and informally by Tongan men and women.

000 Tongan men and women. Wild or cultivated *Pandanus* leaves,
291 coconut fronds,and stems of wild plants such as *Hibiscus*
824 *tiliaceus* or *Eleocharis dulcis* are sources of fiber from
287 which the various types of *ta'ovala* are made. The tapa
248 cloth or *ngatu* is prepared from the inner bark of the
paper mulberry plant (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which is
291 planted as a crop in the bush gardens. Belts or twine used
824 to hold the garments in place are often made out of either
coconut or *Hibiscus* fiber.

342 In the case of housing or shelter, the role of the
241 agricultural system is again of considerable importance as
342 a source of materials. Table 19 is an enumeration of
128 housetypes found as part of the survey of 192 allotments on
Tongatapu. Although it is often difficult to distinguish a
342 "small wooden" house from a "large wooden" house, there is
no doubt that almost half of the major dwelling units are
342 of the traditional thatched variety(*fale Tonga*). A *fale* is
824 constructed with plaited coconut fronds for walls and roofing; coconut and other local timber for poles, beams
and framework; and coconut fiber and the inner bark of
Hibiscus tiliaceus for lashing and tying the roofing down.
In some cases, varieties of bamboo (*Bambusa* or *Miscanthus*)
are used for walls. The leaves of a type of sugarcane, *au*,
are used in the construction of a superior and long-lasting
thatched roof. Even wooden houses are often constructed
partially or entirely from local timber.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1828-1830]

Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congregation of 600. 797 He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred 643 to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the [795] Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily [794] and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote,

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had 797 become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services [796] and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m., worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools, conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee [212] in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of Aleamotu'a. and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30)

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small. On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new [368] chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was [794] opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European [391] clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their [177] own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou". Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31)

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only [361] because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in [504] Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching

[1830 - 1834]

promptly gave Taufa'ahau an emetic which had the desired effect. Prayers were 643
offered all night for his recovery. 622

> "No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister because the king was better. . . . From that time Christianity spread and increased in strength while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker" (so declared Peter Vi).(9)

Although the main opposition to the spread of Christianity came from 797
factions within Tonga itself, there were also white renegades who gave trouble. 563
Several of these had settled at Vava'u. One of them who came with Finau to the festival, named Thomas Harris, abused Thomas publicly at the island of Ha'ano (north of Lifuka). These men were trying to persuade Tongans not to follow the missionaries' teachings. Relief came opportunely from the senior naval officer in the Pacific, Captain the Honourable William Waldegrave, H.M.S. *Seringapatam*. He called at Vava'u and removed five white men who had been maligning the missionaries and opposing their work. Such an action may seem arbitrary, but not so at that time and with the type of whites concerned. John Thomas in Ha'apai expressed warm appreciation of the captain's action. Captain Waldegrave gave as a reason for removing these men the harm they were doing to England's reputation among the islanders.(10)

On 5 August 1830 Thomas reported that from 1000 to 1500 people in the 797
Ha'apai group had "embraced Christianity and are open to instruction", and 794
also a few had come from Vava'u for this purpose.(11) In November 1830 there
were 170 in his class and 150 females in his wife's afternoon class, at Lifuka. [781]
The number professing Christianity in the Ha'apai group had then risen to 1800.

Taufa'ahau delayed his baptism until 7 August 1831. On the day before 797
this event there was a feast, with nineteen fat hogs and several hundred yams. At 643
the service more than 2000 were present, the majority outside the chapel. 795
Taufa'ahau had begun "meeting in class" as a "member on trial" in November 1830. Three of his children were baptized together with him, all kneeling in front of the pulpit; the children were Salote, then seven years old, and David and Josiah, the latter only 1½ years old. Taufa'ahau told the congregation,

> "A short time ago I was living in a very wicked way and served the devil with all my might. . . . I now come to give myself and these my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus and to be baptized in His Holy Name." (12)

The chief took the name George, from George III of England, whose name [551]
had been venerated in Tonga since the visit of Captain Cook. Thenceforward Taufa'ahau was generally referred to as King George by the missionaries. The large and bold handwriting in recording the baptism of "George Taufa'ahau, King in Lifuka" (sic) seemed to indicate John Thomas's recognition of this important event.

Taufa'ahau was not only certain of his own faith, but on the day of his 797
baptism he called upon his people to live consistently with their profession as
true Christians. Some time elapsed before he became a local preacher, in 1834, 643
and when this happened he insisted on wearing European clothes whenever he 794
occupied the pulpit; this showed his desire to resemble the missionaries in [291]
outward garb. He asked to be given preaching appointments to various villages [177]
in the same way as other local preachers. He proved eloquent and effective. When he prayed at the conclusion of a service the feelings of the congregation were

aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses 797
from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved 643
me. Did it save anyone else here?", the king instantly jumped to his feet and 794
called out, "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative
he was in avowing his faith in these early days.

The wife whom Taufa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous 797
state was Lupe Pau'u, the bride he had taken from Laufilitonga who was now 644
the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 795
27 September 1834 by James Watkin.(13) The name Salote was taken from Queen 551
Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of
Taufa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of
Taufa'ahau, Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and [585]
Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.(14)

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become 797
Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note of hope in his reports:—

> "We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past." (15)

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise
the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their
predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka
beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many [795]
as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their [181]
appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal [291]
service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth *(ngatu)*, and the neat plaiting
of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the
faces of the persons baptized".(16)

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* 177
came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson,
was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was
very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and
were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to
'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity;
Taufa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would
be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke 177
out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 439
'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen 609
years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo
was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force
the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail
off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short
distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the
Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The
islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain
and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore
and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken
from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Taufa'ahau set out with a 177
609
643

[1835 - 1850]

break with the old life. Rabone reproved the people who brought gifts to a 797
wedding and then waited in the expectation of receiving more than they had 178
given (8 January 1838).(42)

Missionary approval of the adoption of European clothing seems to have 797
been similar to parents' amusement with children's imitation of their elders. As 291
far as leading church-members were concerned, European clothing became part of the formalities attached to worship on the Sabbath. Tongans needed no encouragement to make a good display on public occasions. It was from their own desire that Tongan preachers clothed themselves in ill-fitting black suits that were out of keeping with the climate. The women imitated the missionaries' wives and even outshone them in gaudy frocks and bonnets "from which streamed ribbons of nearly all the hues in the rainbow".(43) John Whewell, a missionary in 1856, strongly condemned the Tongans' desire for "our style of dress". Robert Young, the deputation from the British Conference in 1853, blamed manufacturers and traders for promoting the purchase of European clothing.(44)

As the years went by, Taufa'ahau's influence and his eloquence as a preacher 797
continued to be invaluable assets of the Mission. The Tongatapu Circuit Reports 643
of the period showed that the king's preaching in the villages was having an effect. In his visit in 1850 Lawry gave his opinion of the Wesleyans' champion:

> "The more I see of King George the more I am convinced that his high reputation for wisdom, piety and integrity has been well earned; and that, while he stands *first* in all these qualities, he is doing a great work in concert with the missionaries, in spreading the truth, and elevating the people under his dominion. He is a fine person, about 6 ft. 4 ins. high, and well proportioned, with a fine glow of comeliness, intelligence and Christian benevolence." (45)

Soon after his conversion Taufa'ahau had begun "to elevate the people under his dominion" (in Lawry's words) by applying Christian principles to Tonga's social conditions. In doing this he sought, and was often guided by, the opinions of the missionaries whom he regarded as his teachers and his friends.

As a beginning, in 1835 Taufa'ahau was persuaded by Charles Tucker, then 797
a missionary in Ha'apai, to follow the 1833 declaration of emancipation for all 643
slaves in British colonies. It is true that the conditions under which commoners in 566
Tonga served their chiefs were different from the degraded slavery of negroes in the West Indies and other British possessions. However, the tide of humanitarianism that had been sweeping through Britain, especially under the influence of Evangelicals, was set against serfdom in any form. As a convert to the Christian faith, Taufa'ahau felt he should conform to the new pattern. Accordingly he declared his serfs free on 21 August 1835. So light were the bonds and so devoted the people that many wept and expressed their desire to remain in servitude to Taufa'ahau.

In giving advice when requested to do so, the missionaries knew that they 797
must not contravene the "Instructions to Missionaries" issued by the Committee in London. This document, signed by the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Jabez Bunting, John Beecham and Robert Alder, on 30 September 1834, included the following:

> "V. We cannot omit, without neglecting our duty, to warn you against meddling with political parties, or secular disputes . . .
>
> IX. It is a positive rule against Wesleyan missionaries not to 'follow trade' . . . and to keep at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary enterprise."

[1878-1879]

Baker's influence with the king had grown but his intimate concern with all 797
Government affairs had brought him unpopularity in many quarters. The sumptuary 671
and social laws for which Baker was partly responsible were vexatious to the Tongans and a cause of criticism and even ridicule from European visitors and British officials in Fiji. Some of the sumptuary laws undoubtedly proved profitable [651]
for the Government's coffers and also for the traders. There seemed to be no good 797
reason, for example, to prohibit the making of native cloth *(ngatu)* except on one 671
day weekly, unless it was to encourage the purchase of European clothing. Baker 291
gave a strange argument in his letter to Chapman (3 May 1876); he said that the king wanted to do away with native clothing and he himself supported this policy on the ground that

> "the natives will never use their land as long as they are allowed to use native clothing. I believe it breeds disease, engenders laziness, and costs more than good stout calico would cost." (53)

Rigid missionary feelings concerning decency may have influenced the laws which inflicted a fine of $10 for a man not wearing a shirt in public and a fine of $2 for a woman without a "pinafore" in her home or $3 for the same offence outside her home. Smoking in the case of women was met with a fine of $2.50 797
with costs $1.50. Apart from the trivial nature of all these offences, the fines 671
inflicted were preposterous and oppressive in a poor community.(54) Fines for [276]
sexual offences were particularly heavy. Some Tongans went to eastern Fiji, to [684]
escape these harassing laws; this gave rise to the remark of Lorimer Fison, [167]
missionary in Fiji, "The baker there is making his laws too crusty".(55) The most [681]
extraordinary example was Niua Fo'ou, with a population of under 2,000, and a record of $8,350 fines, including $4,613 for sexual offences, between March 1877 and July 1878.(56)

Sir Arthur Gordon, afterwards Lord Stanmore, first Governor of Fiji in 1874, frequently entered the scene in Tonga when he became High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Gordon was soon critical of Baker because of his intrusion into politics and, especially, his pro-German policy. Gordon was an experienced colonial administrator, with a background of British culture and High Anglicanism, but he was always disposed to uphold the interests of indigenous Pacific peoples. He gave full recognition to the value of the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji although he evinced some disdain towards the missionaries themselves. This superior attitude was still more marked when he was dealing with an ill-educated and aggressive missionary-politician in Shirley Baker.

Gordon, after his visit to Tonga in 1878, stated — [681]

> "I am informed that nearly 90% of the population were last year fined or imprisoned for breaches of the sumptuary laws as to clothing, smoking, playing at games, &c." (57)

With regard to the prohibition upon making *ngatu*, Gordon said, [291]

> "It is Mr. Baker who makes the laws, and this insisting on the adoption of European clothes is enforced by heavy penalties".

Gordon also commented on Baker's extravagance in building a new girls' college [873]
for the Mission, "a huge, unfinished building, with three towers, built round a quadrangle".(58)

In 1879 the highly unpopular sumptuary laws were either repealed or greatly 797
modified. The laws against *ngatu* making, except in large towns, were repealed. 671
The prohibition against women smoking was removed, except for persons under 646
sixteen years of age and child-bearing women. The wearing of shirts and

[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free 241 Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan 793 preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted throughout the Free Wesleyan Church.

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been 795 baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit 848 sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely [162] because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, 764 irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death. 533

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct 795 of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received 795 kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was 796 to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's [516] translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms were adopted.

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir 795 competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 796 1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the 533 finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the competitions.

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number 795 from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu, joined the Church.

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland 644 for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in [764] the royal tombs.

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihi, who died

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
(Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
554 i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
612 were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
[292] ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
612 *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
602 the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
764 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1*c*). A
765 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
292 queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8]
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
126 structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
285 most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
[431] one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts
175 of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their
285 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
● 291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[554] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:

285 A.[See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]
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Langa Fonua In The Kingdom Of Tonga

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LANGA FONUA

Recently the Commission's[1] *women's interests officer spent six weeks in Tonga helping to conduct courses for women leaders from villages scattered throughout the Kingdom. As she reveals in this article, during her stay there she was deeply impressed by the work of the Langa Fonua, a women's organization dedicated to the progress of home and community.*

By MARJORIE STEWART

Members taking the second course, photographed in front of Langa Fonua House.

[P.26-A]

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[1] /The South Pacific Commission - an advisory and consultative international body -- Analyst/

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961 OU9 Tonga OU9

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[P.27-A]

Some members of a sewing class.

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961 OU9 Tonga OU9

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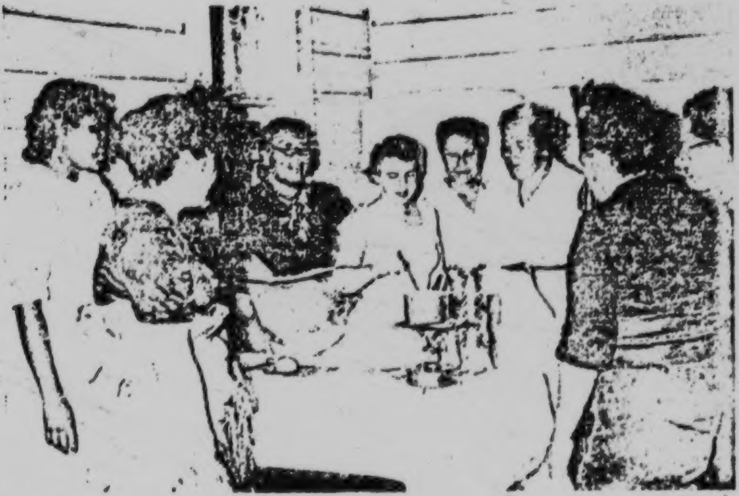

[P.27-D]

Miss June Summerton giving a cooking demonstration.

98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

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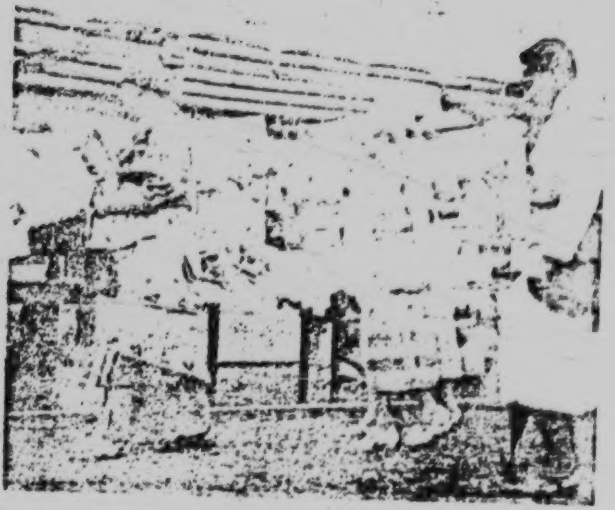

[P.34-A]

Her Majesty Queen Salote inspecting some of the sewing exhibits.

177 /18 cont./
181 European goods to the accumulation of material "wealth" (through copra
186 production, trade); the dissemination of the Christian teaching of the
[563] equality of all men before God may have also buttressed the Tongans'
[565] self-assurance in the presence of Europeans. Among some of these natives the conviction that they will never be able to become "like the Europeans" may probably also have led them to cling to their ancient self-assurance, realizing as they did the values of their Tongan culture. (7)

[644]
[645]
[178]
[291]

7. Perhaps the attitude of the Crown Prince and Prime Minister Tungi should also be understood in this sense; along with all the intensive Europeanizing plans for his country, and after completion of his studies in Sydney, he again dresses in the Tongan vala (a cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to above the knees, often down to the ankles) and the ta'o-vala (a fine, plaited mat slung over the upper part of the vala like a wide belt); he recommends this apparel (along with the customary European shirts) for all Tongan government employees, and likewise promotes other Tongan customs that seem important in his eyes.

177 Along with this strong self-assurance the Tongan has maintained a
181 certain conservative attitude. The natives, though flexible and open
178 to everything new, nonetheless cling very much, sometimes downright rigidly, to parts of their ancient life style and their tradition. /19/ For example, in covering a house with sheet metal, they go to great trouble to build ancient Tongan round ends and reshape the metal accordingly. On the smaller islands at any rate, Tongans who own a bed, a table and a chair sleep on a mat, sit on the floor and eat with their fingers. Every Tongan can procure tea, coffee, cocoa, lemonade and so
[276] on, but the kawa drink is still in the center of all social gatherings and is consumed now at least as much as in the past.

181 The majority of Tongans are today just as goodnatured, happy,

/48 cont./

302 Tongan oil for dressing their hair.

Small girls sometimes wear a very short haircut like boys, so that they are often scarcely distinguishable from them; more often, however, their hair is left to grow long and is then cut so that it does not reach below the shoulders. The latter style is probably in contrast to ancient Tongan customs.

302 178 Summarizing, one may say that the modern hair style of Tongan men, and especially of Tongan women, shows an outright, joyful imitation of the new, along with a rather lighthearted renunciation of the old.

c) Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing and Circumcision

Clothing

291 (177) European textiles and articles of clothing have been, and still are, an important influence in Tonga.

291 554 In former times, the men were either "almost entirely naked," (115) that is, because of their inferior status or for their work they wore only a loincloth of tapa (116) or a leaf apron; (117) or, if they were privileged persons or were taking part in a festival, /49/ they wrapped themselves in a vala, that is, a rectangular piece of tapa slung about one and half times around the hips. (118)

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115. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 326; V. p. 138.

[287] 116. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; the tapa was and is made of the bast layer on the inner side of the bark of Broussonetia papyrifera. For details see p. 216 ff.

117. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; S. S Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands.../cited in English/. loc, cit. p. 144.

/49 cont./

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118. The vala reached to the ankles in the case of persons of higher rank; it was secured with a tapa or fiber belt and the upper part fell in folds over this belt, so that in cold or damp weather it could be slung over the shoulders. Cook quotes the average size of the vala as being "six feet wide and at least eight and a half feet long" (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) whereas Mariner says: "about eight feet by five or six"/cited in English/. (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 346).

Along with this garment, or instead of it, mats of various quality and size (119)

119. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 327; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative.../cited in English/. loc, cit. I. p. 94.

were worn, depending on the rank of the persons in question.

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[565]
[184]

Today most men, commoners as well as nobles, wear a vala of European material (in all kinds of colors and patterns, but preferably black for work, and white for Sundays, festivals, etc.), which is approximately the size of the old Tongan vala made of tapa; it is simply wrappped around the waist and is held in place by itself or by means of a belt of leather or synthetic material. Underneath this vala the men often do wear European shorts. On the upper part of the body, which in former times was almost always naked among all classes, they wear a shirt of European cut (a sport shirt, more often with long sleeves rather than with short ones), sometimes also merely a jersey. (120)

120. The vala encircles the shirt below the hips.

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Shirts are bought readymade in various colors, or else women buy only the material and sew them themselves on small hand sewing machines common in Tonga, or even on the console type Singer machines, (121)

291 /49 cont./
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177 121. On a small island like Nomuka there were already four lowerable sewing machines in
[426] 1952. The hand sewing machines in particular are willingly lent from house to house.

just as they, naturally, also hem the vala. (122)

[462] 122. This work is sometimes also done by men.

291 In Tonga the shirt was introduced by law as a result of missionary
[671] influence ("decent clothing"). Thus today in the villages one does
[177] not see a Tongan with the upper part of the body uncovered, though on
[797] the plantations many will seek relief on hot days and take off their shirts. True, the law did not prescribe the shape and condition of the shirt, so that for some natives it seems sufficient, at least on weekdays, to place a circular rag around their necks. Every
291 Tongan observes a definite hierarchy in his wardrobe: the first out-
292 fit (his best and newest things) is commonly worn to church on Sunday, the second outfit (that is, the one for Sundays that is already somewhat worn) is donned for festive occasions and for the kawa gatherings, while the third (that is, the outworn second) serves for everyday and, along with definite work clothes, is still very serviceable for various activities, especially in the plantings.

292 /50/ For church-going, for a festival or a fono (123)

[621] 123. A village gathering, especially for the purpose of hearing explanations by government representatives with regard to specific village matters.

the ta'o-vala is worn, a more or less finely plaited mat (depending on one's wealth), secured with a plaited coconut cord (kafa). (124)

124. The customary types of ta'o-vala mats are the ones made of the various pandanus species, ta'o-vala tofua, ta'o-vala kie, ta'o-vala tapa 'i la; less frequently used is the rather shabby ta'o-vala tangai made from a dyed European sack.

/50 cont./

292 [565] Commoners wear the ta'o-vala when they appear before chiefs, just as the latter don their ta'o-vala when they have dealings with the people. Even the most "modern" Tongan who wears trousers as a [178] matter of principle, changes into a vala and ta'o-vala for a fono, for instance. With the ta'o-vala he shows his respect toward authorities, (125)

[113] 125. This ancient custom is already noted in: Geschichte der christlichen Missionen auf den Freundschafts- oder Tonga-Inseln /History of the Christian missions on the Friendly or Tonga Islands/. Bremen. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1857. p. 173.

and it is commonly considered bad taste to wear the ta'o-vala over 292 177 trousers. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who studied in Australia and visited London, sets a good example by wearing the vala and ta'o-vala day after day, and recommends this attire to all administrative employees. Some Tongans "who take pride in their appearance" --in the seaports as well as on the small islands--wear a tie and a European lounge jacket for church on Sunday, along with the customary attire (shirt, vala, ta'o-vala).

291 292 184 565 In contrast to olden times, therefore, nobles as well as commoners wear the same type of clothing. The elegant and valuable mats have even come down to the domain of the people, since many commoners use them as ta'o-vala. Some of the commoners own more and better clothing than the nobles living on the same islands. (126)

[434] 126. For example, the nopele ("highest ranking chief" see p. 95 of text. FS) T. told the author that he could no longer keep step with this development, and that he owns only a few shirts (T. lives on rather small rents from his landed property and on /the yield from/ his plantings, whereas some Tongan of the younger generation are engaged in copra production and, as commoners, are economically the stronger ones).

/50 cont./

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177 Instead of the ordinary vala described above, some Tongans (besides the Tongan medical practitioners) wear the vala faka-Fisi borrowed from Fiji (Central Medical School), which has a belt that is stitched on and can be buttoned, as well as two inset pockets. Moreover, European trousers have become somewhat common, especially among the younger generation. This development was furthered by the second World War, that is, by the presence of foreign troops on Tongatapu and the training of a few thousand Tonga in European uniforms. However, the majority of natives still wear the vala, although for certain work (for instance- house-building) trousers are more [313] appropriate. For lumber work in the bush on Nomuka (on November 21/22, 1951), for example, /51/ of 22 Tongans, 15 wore vala (seven young men, eight older ones) and seven wore long or short pants (six young Tongans, one older one), (127) whereas at a court session (on November 19) on the same island all 21 in the audience appeared in the vala. On a Sunday afternoon (the end of October 1951), in the urbanized seaport and chief city of Nuku'alofa, where generally more /drawing of vala faka-Fisi appears here/ trousers are worn than on the small islands, 22 of the 35 natives observed wore vala and 13 wore long trousers. Here too the Tongans [292] wearing trousers almost all own a vala for special occasions.

291 The following list may show the specific combination of articles of clothing:

/52/ On November 28, 1951, a sunny day with a sharp breeze, a group of house-builders on Nomuka, along with a kava-group sponsoring this work, wore the following clothes:

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127. These 22 Tongans almost all wore the vala to church on Sundays, for the kava gatherings, for festivals, etc.

/51 cont./

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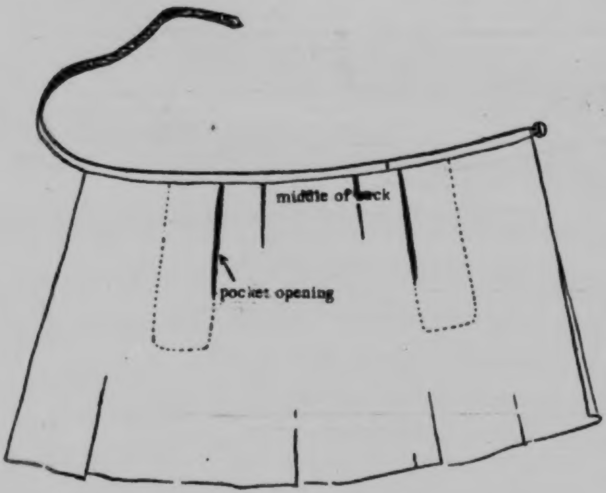

vala [illegible]
(Expedition Collection, No. 84)

291 /52 cont./

A. House-builders

young Tonga	white shirt	gray vala
" "	" "	black vala
" "	blue "	gray vala
" "	black "	dark blue vala
" "	naked torso	black vala
" "	white gym shirt	light beige shorts
" "	white shirt	long gray pants
" "	red "	long brown pants
" "	white "	long gray pants
" "	" gym shirt	long light gray pants
" "	purple overalls	

/52 cont./

291

young Tonga	purple overalls		
" "	" "		
older Tonga	light blue white-striped shirt	light blue white-striped *vala*	
" "	white shirt	black *vala*	
" "	" "	" "	
" "	grayish brown jersey	brown shorts	
B. *Kava group*			
older Tonga	light blue shirt	khaki *vala*	with *ta'o-vala*
" "	black "	black "	
" "	light blue "	light gray *vala*	
" "	light *beige* "	black *vala*	
" "	" " "	" "	
" "	light blue "	" "	
" "	white "	pink "	
" "	light yellow shirt	light yellow *vala*	
" "	white jersey	light beige *vala*	

In general, one may say of the present-day clothing of the male Tongans (128) that the goal of the earlier missionaries, to clothe the natives "decently," was fully achieved. In spite of the fact that the Tongan church system has become independent, people still cling tenaciously to clothing the upper part of their bodies, which must certainly often

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[292]

128. Besides the clothes described above there are also clothes for special occupations: black suits for the pastors of various churches, khaki shirt and khaki *vala* for policemen, and white *vala faka-Fisi* with white shirt for Tonga physicians. Various schools (colleges, for instance) have a special uniform for their students.

/52 cont./

291 be uncomfortable. They adhere to this not so much because of the law, but because they realize that the shirt means civilization, an approximation of the respected world of the whites, and that the naked torso /53/ is something "barbaric." (129)

[126] [123] 129. The author had difficulty, in photographing Tongans, to persuade them to remove their shirts, for they did not want to look "like savages"; when they go fishing, many Tongans enter the water fully clothed, that is, with shirt and vala.

[186] [565] The vala owes its firmly entrenched position, however, not only to a certain national pride, but also to the fact that it has become an article of clothing of the commoners who were once underprivileged.

291 177 [752] The Tongans usually go barefoot, as in olden times. Some natives wear shoes after a foot injury, to let the wound heal, and today there are also some young Tongans on the small islands as well as in the seaports who wear white tennis shoes, only because they find it "nice," because it looks "European," whereas some employees in the government and in the large department stores like to wear leather sandals. Most Tongans also still go bareheaded. Only now and then they wear old felt hats, sun helmets and hats plaited of halved coconut palm leaves; (130)

130. For example, simple-shaped hats that college students like to make, and others that imitate certain European models (tata faka-polisi=police caps, helemiti=sun helmets).

sometimes they also wrap a cloth around their heads as a protection against the sun, just as people formerly protected themselves against the sun's rays, for example, on the plantations and on the sea, with various kinds of head coverings. (131)

131. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 167; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

/53 cont./

291 177 The Tongan women who once wrapped their tapa vala around their
waists directly below the breasts and let it hang down to their
ankles, (132) and in addition wore a narrow mat around their waists, (133)
have, in the course of missionization, become accustomed to clothing
[178] the upper part of their bodies. However, the voluminous, sacklike
mission garments still customary in 1910, often with lace trimmings at
neck and sleeves, and with a vala cloth that was slung over or under
this and reached almost to the ground, have today changed to the extent
that they are shorter and more fitted. Most Tongan women have already
become accustomed to European underwear (including brassieres). Mail-
[294] order catalogs from firms in Australia or New Zealand, magazines,
newspapers, films and the few white women themselves--besides the shops
in the seaports--give the female natives of the entire Archipelago
enough incentive always to sew their own "modern" creations. Some
young Tongan women no longer wear the vala, /54/ justifying this,
not always honestly, by saying that it is "too warm" for them; they
prefer clothes that in shape, length and decollete are very close to
291 European models. As in hair styles, feminine vanity and the imitative
177 impulse quickly forget the old and the traditional. Yet the vala (134)
is still part of the dress of the majority of Tongan women (that is,
all older women and the majority of younger ones). (135)

[565] [184] 132. Apparently nobles as well as commoners; the former probably with a tapa piece of larger dimensions.

133. G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 326/327; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 347.

178 134. Either underneath of on top of the dress, as preferred.

135. On a workday, for example, in 'Uiha/'Uiha (a typical village of the Ha'apai group), of the 63 women counted, 54 of them (30

/54 cont./

291 older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a
177 vala, whereas nine (one older and eight
178 younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of
Fungamisi, which borders on the urban
seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan
women (eleven older and nine younger ones)
with the vala and five (two older and three
younger ones) without it.

291 In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan
177 woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old
292 girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small
[515] islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked
[184] torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through
[831] torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative
effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female
torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries
were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full
291 covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her
296 clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--
and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the
292 small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports,
(184) and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty
immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like
the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by
the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

[824] 136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt
[294] plaited of strips of pandanus leaves
(lou tofua-like) with a black design,
and with pendant strips plaited in the
(176) same way. It was "invented" some years
ago as the colleges and soon became
popular with women, and sometimes also
men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

/54 cont./

292 [824] [294] 137. This is plaited from bast of the Hibiscus tiliaceus, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824] [294] 138. A belt likewise plaited on Hibiscus tiliaceus bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (Adenathera pavonina). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177] islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

292 177 Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

292 [824] [294] plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[794] They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294 296 178 Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

294
296
178
/55 cont./

142. The former tapa clothing simply wore out and was replaced by new clothing.

the Tongan women have become most adept at sewing. In tailoring and sewing (especially with the help of hand sewing machines) they achieve astonishing skill. In the task of laundering, the Polynesian feeling for cleanliness can fully unfold; often vala, shirts and dresses that have been worn only once disappear in the zinc tubs where, amidst a great expenditure of curd soap, without previous soaking, often only in lukewarm water, they are scrubbed clean on glass and zinc washboards, an abuse which most clothing can withstand for only a limited time. Most Tongan women seem to be on a war path with mending; for all too often the progressive deterioration of their albeit always clean clothing goes on unchecked, and the ragged thing is (tardily) replaced by something new--as was formerly the case with tapa. However, as has been mentioned, there is a difference to be noted between the small islands and the seaports; the clothing in the latter seems better cared for. 296 [184]

291
179
The European-Christian influence on children's clothing has been less persistent. Referring to ancient Tongans, Mariner said that children up to about two years were unclothed in the house, (143)

[114]
143. J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 347; it is not clear whether this note applied only to the families of chiefs or to commoners as well.

and Dumont d'Urville reported that boys went about naked for a long time, though little girls were apt to be clothed. (144)

144. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

whereas in 1857 the Mission announced that "the youngest Christian child...(wore) white tapa around its hips." (145)

145. Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian Missions/ loc. cit. p. 41.

/55 cont./

291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of
the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around
naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years)
even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and
[296] convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of
fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very
difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12)
"decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their
[177] children in small vala or panties of European fabric, and if possible,
[292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on
Sundays, often with the addition of small ta'o-vala for the boys.

291 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily
177 the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full
178 covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (koka'anga) the long lengths of
[386] tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect
their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests
[574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a vala, the tapa they have
[431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146)
[535] women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves
with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the vala and wear the belt mats (ta'o-vala)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

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146. For example, the laka-laka, ula, ma'ulu'ulu and me'etu'upaki. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

/56 cont./

291 177 178 Thus the field of clothing shows how old indigenous cultural assets and new imported ones exist side by side and in part have been blended to a unity that seems natural to the natives. The Tongans adopted the European fabrics because they are far more practical (washable and more durable) than tapa, because, with their printed patterns and the brilliant colors some of which they had never seen before, they seem desirable, and because they are products of Europe which they admire. Convenience was a lesser consideration, [296] [432] [287] for the money for purchase of the fabrics must be earned, keeping them clean requires assiduous care, and the tapa continues to be laboriously made--for festivities, as sleeping mats, etc.--to such an extent that in most villages of Tonga, and even in the "chief city" of Nuku'alofa one can still hear the pounding of the tapa mallet almost every workday.

/57/ It is doubtful whether in future the vala will be replaced altogether by trousers and the short dress. Though for certain work, trousers are much more practical than the vala, yet the latter is easier to make, to put on and to clean, and above all more comfortable in the warm climate. To judge by the present state of affairs, the majority of Tongans will probably retain the vala. Certainly it will continue to exist in the exalted realm of solemn occasions and festivities--provided the Tongan government does not officially introduce a different development in the wake of special Europeanization measures.

Adornment

301 178 The adornment of the Tongans has also undergone a change. Today the natives adorn themselves relatively little compared to the wealth of adornment mentioned in the old sources about Tonga. [237] [824] In the pre-European and early European era there were necklaces of snail shells,

/105 cont./

565 of honor. And the ceremony of kava-serving still singles him out as
554 the most important person in the circle, even when important officials
178 or men (from among commoners) who are influential as a result of their
276 personality or their wealth are among the present. The mere fact
574 that a man in the village has some chief's blood in his veins or that
he bears a title which was once granted him or his ancestors and
causes him to be regarded as matapule, (294)

> 294. On Nomuka, for example, in all kava circles of commoners (among whom there are a few officials and respected Tongans), the Tei is given the seat of honor without reservation. The old title of Tei was at one time created by the Tu'i Tonga, and its bearer had to take care of fishing for 'ava (fish) and transporting the ruler. The title continued to be renewed, so that today the Tei is commonly regarded as "fisherman to the Queen."

gives him priority in the kava circle over knowledge, ability and wealth.

565 Though the respect of commoners for landless chiefs has been
576 considerably reduced in public, it has not entirely disappeared. For
554 almost every commoner, when he visits a chief, will don his ta'o-vala
178 (the mat as a sign of respect), and among the people no one generally
dares to wear the finest mats (for example, kie ta'o-vala)to which
formerly only chiefs were entitled, except for church-going or
weddings, even though the constitutions permit such attire. In
565 case of death, too, a longer noise- and work-taboo is usually observed
178 for chiefs than for commoners. The majority of the people still have
764 a silent respect respect for rank and title. (295)
784

> 295. Outwardly the difference between nobles and commoners has been completely effaced, for all classes today wear the same European clothing.

(291)
(177)

511 /203 cont./ Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the
439 Archipelago have long since ceased to be used for clothing, as a re-
177 sult of European influence, but only for the sleeping places and
291 for festive occasions, the natives are obliged to buy fabric for
651 clothing or readymade clothing; (531)
794

531. See chapter on "Clothing," p. 67.

they must also pay the relatively low taxes and make substantial
511 contributions to churches. Aside from that, all money--and this is,
439 as a rule, the larger part of the proceeds from their copra work--
177 /204/ is used to buy supplementary European amenities. Among these are, first of all foodstuffs such as canned meat and fish, flour, sugar, etc., luxuries, above all tobacco, furthermore household objects such as lamps (including oil), dishes, bowls and pots, equipment, raw material and tools for building, fishing and woodworking, and finally things which for the Tongans are definite luxury articles, such as bicycles and cabinet-type sewing machines, perfume and powder.

245 Thus copra production has exerted a certain influence on the
434 daily life of the Tongans. The whole family takes part in this work--
[592] at any rate, in some phases of it; the men devote many hours of the
[461] year to it. The money they make with this activity is largely con-
[439] verted into goods that change the external picture of Tongan culture--
[177] from clothing and food to house-building and household goods; money and goods also affect the character of the people and their interrelations--though up to now only to a slight extent. (532)

532. See pp. 17-22, 29-31.

[439] For the Tongans state the duty on the export of copra and the import of goods that results from this is the most substantial source of income. (533)

533. See Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/. London, 1952. p. 8/9. Copra export rose to

/206 cont./
285 species (see papa)

fala paongo:

[513] This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a
complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and
[352] when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua
[431] is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to
[764] rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x
1.20 meters.

[824] The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species;
these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much
[531] narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

[513] This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women
and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost
[431] layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse
[585]
[764] is laid to rest on it.

Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips
[824] of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are
used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf
strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored
ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

285
● 291
ta'o-vala tofua:

This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping
mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size.
[554] /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and
rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

[824] and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/207 cont./

285 tofua is plaited out of leaf strips of the lou tofua species (for its
291 treatment see above under lo taha). This belt mat is dyed yellowish
[824] brown with a mixture of burnt coral limestone and the juice of green
[386] coconut husks (or sea water) and then pressed under the sleeping place.

ta'o-vala la (ta'o-vala tapa i'la):

The ta'o-vala la is also worn by men (and women). It differs from the ta'o-vala tofua chiefly in not being rectangular like the latter, but resembles a triangular sail (la); (535)

535. There are also ta'o-vala which are made of three smaller triangles linked together.

it is also plaited out of lou tofua leaf strips and dyed like the ta'o-vala tofua.

ta'o-vala kie:

285 This is the most valuable belt mat. Among commoners, men and
292 women use it only on especially important occasions (for example, at
565 festive church services and as part of the wedding garb of bride and
(178) bridegroom). According to a generally well-informed native on Nomuka,
[643] only the hau (i.e. the king and those of royal blood) were permitted
(644) to wear the ta'p-vala kie in ancient Tonga. Today, however, as a
result of democratization, the majority of commoners own them; yet
the old order is still alive insofar as a person who wears a ta'o-vala
kie, except on the most important occasions, is unpleasantly conspicuous in the eyes of these natives, and is suspected of wanting
to show off "as a chieftain."

285 The ta'o-vala kie is made of the lou kie pandanus species.
824 The natives cut the leaves off the plant, remove their thorny edges
and part of the midrib, and roll them into rather large bundles (of 20 or 30 leaves) which they boil in a large canister (for about one-half to one hour); then they remove the upper part (upper skin) of the leaves from their lower part and place the former in the sea for

/207 cont./

285 a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for
[824] three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting
them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them
pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it some-
what darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also some-
[531] times interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multi-
[177] colored, artificial European dyes.
[386]

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is
[291] no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited
belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and
women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua.

[824] They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou
tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it
[531] with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of
the same species.

/208/

5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by
565 commoners, but is stored away and dept for a special purpose. It is
[431] given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a
[585] girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also
ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male of female friend as
[585] a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do
[292] bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known
[764] as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it.
[513] The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

285 The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see
824 above under ta'o -vala kie).

/214 cont./

Sandals

teka:

285 These are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. Today, as in the
292 past, they are worn on the sharp-edged coral reefs by fishermen
(sometimes also by women).

285 The men (not so much the women) plait these sandals from the bast
462 of Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nowadays, they sometimes also use (for con-
824 venience) the less durable leaf strips of pandanus.

Hats

285 The occasional wearing of hats may be traced back to European
177 influence. Hence the plaiting of such head coverings is also a new
291 type of work in Tonga.

tata lou 'akau:

292 These hats are worn by older women when they go to church; they
794 are a sign of membership in the Wesleyan congregation where the
wearers have made a special confession. Younger women and girls
wear these hats not only for church-going, but also on other festive
292 occasions, and as sunshades on Sunday. In the opinion of one Tongan
177 who is in general well informed, hats have been made in the Archipelago
for about 40 years and are an imitation of models taken from the
(Europeanized) Niue Island where indeed very similar models are
plaited to this day.

285 /215/ The tata lou 'akau are made only by women from the leaf
462 strips of the lou tofua pandanus species; (565)
824
531

565. See lo taha, pp. 305-308.

they plait patterns into them with pandanus leaf strips of the lou kie species, (566)

566. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309.

dyed with European dyes, and put a band of cotton around the hat.

/261 cont./

535 178 527 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as in the past. 535 Besides such dances intended for the most important festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest /262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear [291] [177] [292] [301] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84).

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at [574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany [533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes, various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time of the day, but usually in the evening.

/262 cont./

535 [177] This dance does not seem to be very old in Tonga, and was probably borrowed from Samoa about a century ago.

hula:

is danced only by girls (women) about 12 to 30 years of age. The hula is quite popular; about half the young women can perform it.

Only one or two girls (women) at a time demonstrate this dance.
[292] They usually put on the ornamental belt (for example, mana fau,
[301] kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) and necklaces of plant material
[291] (kakala) (see pp. 82-84) and wear European underwear. On many occasions,
[177] for example kava- picnic- birthday- and wedding-gatherings, the hula
[574] [527] may be danced. The dancers move (especially their hips and the upper
part of their bodies) to the singing of a chorus and the playing of
several guitars. The hula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The hula is a new dance taken over from Hawaii in the 30s of this century. There too it originated only in recent times.

laka-laka:

is danced by Tongan men and women about 16 to 60 years of age. The laka-laka is probably the most popular and most often performed of the large dances. Approximately half of all natives are proficient in it.

About 60 natives take part in a laka-laka; however, their number may reach 400. Both sexes are about equally represented, but equal numbers are not a prerequisite. Usually all male participants wear the same dance costume (for example, white shirt, black vala of European material, ta'o-vala [see pp. 69-71], kahoa and sisi kakala [see pp. 82-84]), just as all /263/ female participants are uniformily dressed (for example, dance shirt kofu lou fau and vala of tapa [ngatu 'uli] [see pp. 84-85 and 330-333]).

[554] The dancers usually stand in two rows (more, if many people

/264 cont./

535 beats of the nafa.

[533) This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may take part in a kailao. They dance with naked torsos preferably
[301] decorated with kakala necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear
[292) ornamental belts (mana fau, kie-kie lou fau [see pp. 321-324]) over
[177) European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken
[291) feathers).
[237)

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each.
[533) Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers display considerable movement (including steps).

The kailao may be danced at any time of day.

[177) The kailao--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long
[534) time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly
[178) customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the kailao but not more than about one-fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Toputapu) are experienced in it. The tau faka-niua differs from the kailao by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than
[533) paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans (one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of bamboo (notched to form four points).

The tau faka-niua may be danced at any time of day.

The tau faka-niua seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the
[534) island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used
[178) instead of tine cans.

000 /305 cont./
T F especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies
515 there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European
177 T F influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.
302 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the
177 Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion,
T F and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing
291 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very
177 much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far
more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of
adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes;
the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the
T F Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji
304 has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in
178 "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is
apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga,
is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it
a deeper significance.

T F In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in
581 Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis
177 as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception
797 of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago
T F under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-
593 sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas
604 the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother"
178 survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more
T F drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have
601 kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages
T F 585 of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show
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3. Tongan /male/ in everyday clothes

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4. Pounding the kava root

[End Plate 2]

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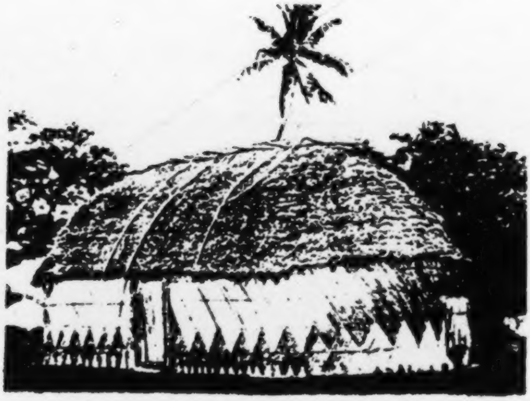

5. Dwelling in ancient Tongan style (kaho walls)

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6. Funeral procession; pallbearers in foreground

[End Plate 3]

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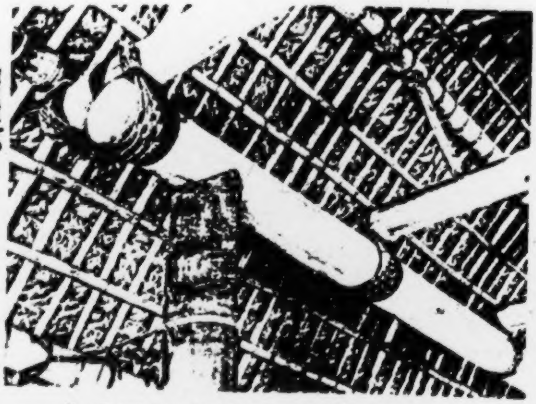

11. Coconut cord lashings in a dwelling

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12. Making rafters with the transverse hatchet fale-vatu

[End Plate 6]

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13. Spearing fish

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14. Harvesting yams

[End Plate 7]

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15. Building an earth-oven

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16. Making copra: drying halved coconuts

[End Plate 8]

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17. Pounding bast strip to make tapa

[End Plate 9]

123
tacked to meet her. It[A] was about 15 feet in length, without any
carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were 501
four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or 505
native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the [291]
knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right
through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely
over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity 123
and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not 505
at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of 191
them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main
yard!" As this had been already done some short time before
to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no
doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A 505
rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the
canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on 142
board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome
features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing.
He was tatooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, 304
and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he an-
nounced himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or 502
French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to
the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she
came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station
on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a 502
mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and 133
is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness
and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance 133
the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to
the reef which skirts the shore.

Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking [368]
in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a conti-
nuous line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part
being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on
which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the
grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed
at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very 361
large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing 505
crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party
was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met 123
by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two [411]
or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon
the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of [291]
coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and
petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going [797]
away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

[A] [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

running up to tell us that they were on their way down, and 123
shortly afterwards we were met by two of these gentlemen, Mr. 797
Lawry and Mr. Amos, whom we accompanied to their houses.
The road lay between rows of very neatly made matted fencing, 363
by which the town was divided into regular lanes, shaded by the 137
cocoa-nut trees and bananas which grew on each side, forming 417
beautiful avenues over them. The missionaries had very neat 797
cottages with green lawns before them: and we recognized, 137
among many beautiful island plants, the rose and a variety of
English flowers, together with peas and other vegetables, all of
which appeared to thrive well. By the time we had made our 123
call here it became too late to see much more that night, and we
returned on board.

The following morning (June 20th) I accompanied Capt.
Keppel and a party to see an examination of the native school.
The scholars were all assembled upon a lawn within a fence, 877
which enclosed the school-houses and huts of the native teachers; 291
these were principally young women and girls—and like those we
had seen upon landing, wore a kind of upper body dress of
coloured cotton hanging loosely over the shoulders, with petticoats
of tappa partly gathered into folds round the waist. Many [302]
had a species of convolvulus wound a great many times round the
waist, surrounding the body with a mass of leaves and flowers; [751]
and all had their skins rubbed over with cocoanut-oil, which they
use both as a protection from the sun, and because they think it
adds to their beauty. Most of them had cotton bags containing 877
their books and writing materials; and those who had not bags 415
carried them carefully wrapped in pieces of new tappa. They
were arranged in ranks placed so as to form three sides of a 872
square; and one of the missionaries, standing in the centre, 797
directed their movements by a whistle which he carried. At a
preparatory call all the monitors came out and stood apart from
the rest, and at a second signal they formed in line, and, led by the
missionary, started off at a moderately quick step; the rest of the
scholars falling in behind, all chanting at the same time in full
chorus, the procession winding backwards and forwards until they
formed a figure four deep. Other figures were then formed,
until a signal from the missionary called a halt, and they went
into the "Fále Lautóhi," or reading-room, a large house built in
the native style, where they sat down on the ground in six rows,
the young women and girls being placed in the middle lines. A 872
large number of the people attended, sitting on the ground
outside. The examination opened by the scholars singing a
hymn, then repeating portions of the Catechism, and going through
the Multiplication Table; reading chapters from the Bible, writing
and geography also formed part of their exercises. In repeat-